PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN

SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

VOLUME VII.

REPORT AND PAPERS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., DEC. 27 AND 28, 1894

EDITED BY

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SECRETARY

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REPORT AND PAPERS

OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CONSTITUTION	vii
SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING	xiii
WORKS OF INTEREST TO THE STUDENT OF CHURCH HISTORY PUBLISHED IN 1893. A Bibliography Compiled by the SECRETARY.	xxiii
WORKS OF INTEREST TO THE STUDENT OF CHURCH HISTORY PUBLISHED IN 1894. A Bibliography Compiled by the SECRETARY.	cxxxi
DR. SCHAFF AS AN HISTORIAN. By REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	3
SOME ELEMENTS IN THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES. By REV. CHARLES HERBERT SMALL, B.D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Hudson, O.	11
JUDGE SAMUEL SEWALL (1652–1730). A TYPICAL MASSACHUSETTS PURITAN. By REV. JOHN LEWIS EWELL, Professor of Church History, and Dean of the Theological Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C.	25
LIST OF MEMBERS	55
DECEASED MEMBERS	63
INDEX	65

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[Adopted at the organization, Friday, March 23, 1888.]

I.

This Society shall be called

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers and four other members shall constitute the Council, of which five shall be the quorum.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall preside at all the meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, and the determination of what papers shall be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The Council and all the other officers shall be elected at the annual meeting. But the Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

VI.

Any person approved by the Council may become a member of the Society upon the payment of an initiation fee of $5.00, and continue a member by paying after the first year an annual fee of $3.00. On payment of fifty dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VII.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all honorary and life-members, to all annual members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing $3.00 annually.

VIII.

Persons not residing in America may be elected honorary members.

IX.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Society met in the reception-rooms of the Columbian University, 15th and H. Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., on Thursday and Friday, December 27 and 28, 1894.

The first session was at 3.30 P.M. The President of the Society, Bishop Hurst, presided and called upon the Rev. Dr. Norcross, of Carlisle, Pa., to pray. He then announced as the committee on the time and place of next meeting and the officers for the ensuing year, the Rev. Dr. Chambers, the Rev. Mr. Faulkner, and the Secretary, and as the committee on audit of the Treasurer's accounts, the Rev. Dr. Norcross.

President Hurst then delivered the annual address in which he reviewed the Church historical literature of the year 1894 in America, the British Isles, and Continental Europe.

The Secretary followed with his annual report, which was as follows:

During the year 1894 sixteen members have been enrolled; eight have resigned, and three have died.

Our deceased associates are (1) GEORGE WILLIAM CHILDS, who died in Philadelphia, on Saturday, Feb. 3, 1894. He was known all over the country as the proprietor of the *Public Ledger*, a daily morning newspaper of large circulation, published in Philadelphia. Mr. Childs was born in Baltimore, Md., on May 12, 1829, but since his fourteenth year resided in Philadelphia, where, after a brief experience as

clerk in a book-store he became a bookseller on his own account and later a publisher, having joined his father-in-law. The firm of Childs & Peterson will be remembered as having brought out several noteworthy books, particularly Dr. Kane's *Arctic Explorations* (1856), an enormous success; and *Parson Brownlow's Book*, as it was generally called, although its proper title is *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession, with a Narrative of Personal Adventures among the Rebels* (1862). In 1854 the firm brought out the first volume of that highly meritorious compilation, Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*. The other two volumes were not published till 1871, and as then Mr. Childs was out of the book-publishing business they were produced by J. B. Lippincott & Co. In 1864 Mr. Childs bought the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and by enterprise, liberality, shrewdness, and common-sense, raised it to a prominent place and made it a highly lucrative investment. The wealth thus honestly made was lavishly dispensed. He erected the Shakespere fountain in Stratford-on-Avon; the "Prayer-Book Cross" near San Francisco, to mark the spot where Sir Francis Drake landed, and where religious services in English were first held on the western slope of our continent (1578). He also put in the memorial windows to George Herbert and William Cowper in Westminster Abbey, and one to John Milton in the adjoining Church of St. Margaret's; and a reredos in memory of Bishops Ken and Launcelot Andrews in the Church of St. Thomas and Clement, Winchester. The printers of the country owe to him and to Mr. A. J. Drexel the nucleus of the fund which built, and now sustains, at Colorado Springs, the Home for Aged and Invalid Printers. But aside from this public, he was noted for great private beneficence, and it can be truly said that he was one of the most public-spirited and useful citizens of the Republic. He has told the story of his life in his *Recollections*, which appeared in Philadelphia in 1890. He had one of the finest private libraries in the country. He joined our Society in 1891.

(2) The second death we chronicle was that of the Hon.

JOHN JAY, a representative of the patricians of our country, in line with the best traditions, and an exemplification of those moral, religious, intellectual, and social qualities which make a people truly great. He died in New York City on Saturday, May 5, 1894. His grandfather was John Jay, the first Chief-Justice of the United States. His father was William Jay, a judge for nearly thirty years in New York State. He was born in New York City on June 23, 1817; was graduated at Columbia College in 1836; was admitted to the bar, and began that career of philanthropist and public-spirited citizen which ultimately brought him such honor. The slave first enlisted his energies, and at a time when it required rare moral courage he appeared in court as the counsel of fugitive slaves. By this course he alienated many influential people. He was aware of this, but he deliberately put from him the political distinction he might easily have had, since it could have been attained only by disobedience to the call of duty which he heard ringing in his ears. Yet a man of such lineage and of such character could not be obscure. As a matter of fact, although in certain circles he was criticised, in others he was courted. Thus he was one of the organizers of the Republican party, and from 1869 to 1875 was United States Minister to Austria. He was an early advocate of civil-service reform, and President of the New York State Civil-Service Commission from 1883 to 1887; and was also an organizer of the National Civil-Service Reform League. He organized the Huguenot Society—he was of Huguenot extraction—in 1885, and was its President. He was an ardent Protestant and organized "The National Society for the Maintenance of American Institutions." He was interested in historical research, and also in statistics. In religious concerns he was identified with the Episcopal Church, was indeed one of its leading laymen, but, not limiting his activities to that communion, he joined heartily in the promotion of every good cause. He recognized the truth of the dictum "Noblesse oblige," and being by birth, by the possession of wealth, and by acquired position one of the foremost citizens of the

country he strove to play well the part Providence had designed for him. For three years prior to his death he was a cripple in consequence of a street accident. He bore his sufferings heroically and did not cease from work. He had great charm of manner and rare attractiveness of person. In 1889 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Hobart College, and in 1891 the same degree from Columbia College. On Tuesday, November 20, 1894, a public meeting was held in his memory in Madison Square Garden Concert Hall, under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America, of which he had been President. The Hon. Seth Low presided and spoke. The other speeches were made by the Hon. Edward L. Piece, of Boston, upon Mr. Jay as a reformer; by the Hon. Joseph H. Choate on Mr. Jay as a patriot; by the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew on Mr. Jay as a man; and by the Right Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe on Mr. Jay as a Christian. He joined our Society in 1890.

(3) The third death among our members was that of the Rev. LOUIS RODMAN FOX, who died in Philadelphia on Friday, December 21st, after a very brief illness. Mr. Fox was born at Doylestown, Pa., Jan. 10, 1834; studied law, and then theology, and was graduated at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1862. His first charge was over the North Church in Washington, D. C., where he remained from 1865 till 1871. He then became associate pastor of the 10th Church in Philadelphia. From 1874 till 1875 he was in Europe; from 1876 till 1881 he was stated supply of the Providence and Jacksonville Churches in New Jersey; from 1881 till 1890 pastor of the Church of the Covenant, Detroit, Mich. He then retired in ill health, and passed his last days in Philadelphia. He joined our Society in 1889.

The year has been fruitful in literary labors by members of the Society. I have noted the appearance of the following books, and there may be others which have escaped me: By the Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley: *Travels in the Three Continents*, N. Y.: Methodist Book Concern; by the Rev.

Dr. H. S. Burrage: *A History of the Baptists in New England*, Phila.: American Baptist Publication Society; by Rev. Morton Dexter: *The Story of the Pilgrims*, Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publication Society; by Prof. Ephraim Emerton: *Mediæval Europe* (814–1300), Boston: Ginn & Company; by the Rev. Professor Dr. H. C. Sheldon: *History of the Christian Church*, New York and Boston: Crowell, five volumes; by Professor Allen C. Thomas: *History of the United States*, Boston: D. C. Heath & Co; by Mr. H. C. Vedder: *The Dawn of Christianity, or Studies of the Apostolical Church*, Phila.: American Baptist Publication Society; and by the same: *American Writers of To-Day*, Boston: Silver, Burdett, & Co. Bishop Hurst has contributed to a volume published by the Harpers entitled *Bible Stories for Young People.*

I have not attempted to keep track of the articles, reviews, sermons, prefaces, or other minor literary works which our members have published.

The American Church History Series is proceeding very satisfactorily. It was the ordering of Providence that Dr. Schaff should die before the first volume of this series in which he took so deep a paternal interest had appeared. The Committee in charge held one meeting during the year, on Wednesday, October 31st, and appointed the Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, D.D., to write the thirteenth and concluding volume, that upon American Christianity as a whole. In the report rendered last meeting I chronicled the appearance of vol. i., *The Religious Forces of the United States*, by H. K. Carroll, LL.D., on Friday, November 10, 1893, and of vol. iv., *The Lutherans*, by the Rev. Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., on Monday, December 18, 1893. Now I can report the issue of vol. ii., *Baptists*, by the Rev. Prof. A. H. Newman, D.D., LL.D., on Wednesday, December 5th; vol. iii., *Congregationalists*, by Prof. W. Walker, Ph.D., D.D., on Monday, July 9th; vol. x., containing *Unitarians and Universalists*, by the Rev. Drs. J. H. Allen and R. Eddy, respectively, on Thursday, August 16th; vol. xi., containing *Methodists South*, by the Rev. Prof. Dr. Gross Alexander,

United Presbyterians, by the Rev. Dr. J. B. Scouller, *Cumberland Presbyterians*, by the Rev. Prof. Dr. R. V. Foster, *Presbyterians South*, by the Rev. Prof. Dr. T. C. Johnson, on Friday, March 9th; vol. xii., containing *Disciples*, by the Rev. Dr. B. B. Tyler, *Friends*, by Prof. A. C. Thomas and R. H. Thomas, M.D., *United Brethren in Christ*, by the Rev. Dr. D. Berger, *Evangelical Association*, by the Rev. S. P. Spreng, and *Bibliography of American Church History*, 1820–1893, compiled by the Secretary of the Society, on Saturday, May 26th. The remaining volumes of the series are all in hand.

The Treasurer's account was presented and is as follows:

Barr Ferree, Treasurer, in account with the American Society of Church History:

1893.				
Dec.	27.	Balance on hand	$7 35	
1894.				
Oct.	1.	Advance by S. M. Jackson	414 53	
Dec.	27.	Received for dues	468 50	
"	27.	" " sale of Transactions	42 00	
Dec.	26.	Advance by Barr Ferree	100 00	
				$1,032 38
Jan.	15.	Paid Christian Literature Co.	$31 40	
"	30.	" Janitor's fee, 1893 meeting	5 00	
March	30.	" G. P. Putnam's Sons, advance	50 00	
April	10.	" Postage, Treasurer's account	11 00	
"	20.	" Kay Printing House	1 00	
"	20.	" G. P. Putnam's Sons, advance	25 00	
Oct.	11.	" " "	414 53	
"	11.	" " "	42 00	
Dec.	7.	Repaid S. M. Jackson on account	300 00	
"	10.	" " " balance due	114 53	
"	26.	Paid Kay Printing House	2 25	
"	26.	Knickerbocker Press	26 35	
				$1,023 06
				$9 32
		Due Barr Ferree for advance	$100 00	
		" Secretary's honorarium for 1893	25 00	
			$125 00	
		Unexpended balance	9 32	
		Net indebtedness	$115 68	

The regular program was then taken up, and the Rev. Professor Charles Marsh Mead, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Hartford Theological Seminary, Conn., read a paper on "Ritschl's Place in the History of Doctrine," and it was discussed by the Rev. Drs. Chambers, Wolf, Norcross, Jacobs, and Hurst. The Rev. Charles Herbert Small, pastor of the First Congregational Church in Hudson, O., read a paper on "Some Elements in the Making of the United States," and it was discussed by the Rev. Dr. Chambers and by the Rev. Professor Ewell.

The second session was opened at 8 P.M. The Secretary read the paper prepared by the Rev. Dr. Michael John Cramer, of East Orange, N. J., which was a translation of four letters written by John Hus to his church in Prague, while lying under sentence of death at Constance, and of the open letter to the Council written by fifty-seven Bohemian and Moravian noblemen. The session closed with a paper by the Rev. Professor John Lewis Ewell, of Howard University, Washington, D. C., on "Judge Samuel Sewall, a Typical Massachusetts Puritan," and it was discussed by the Rev. Professor Dr. Walker.

The last session was held on Friday, at 10.30 A.M., and was in part a literary parliament, in which the Rev. Drs. Norcross and Wolf, the Rev. Mr. Faulkner, Mr. Ferree, and the Secretary participated, speaking of their Church-history reading and work during the year. Much interest was expressed in the unfinished volume upon Mediæval Church history left by Dr. Schaff, and on motion the Secretary was instructed to learn whether there was any prospect of its appearing, and if any measures might be adopted by the Society to aid in completing it. The last paper was a tribute to the late Dr. Schaff by the Rev. Professor Dr. Fisher.

The committee on audit reported that he had examined the Treasurer's accounts and had found them correct. The committee on time and place of next meeting and on nomination of officers for the ensuing year reported that they recommended the re-election of the officers of the year, and that they left to the Council the decision of the place

and time of next meeting. On motion both reports were duly accepted and adopted.

The officers of the Society for 1895 will therefore be: President: Rev. Bishop John Fletcher Hurst, D.D., LL.D. Vice-Presdents: Rev. Professors Henry Martyn Baird, D.D., LL.D., George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D., and Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. Charles Comfort Tiffany, D.D. Secretary: Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D., 14 East 31st Street. Treasurer: Mr. Barr Ferree, 231 Broadway. Councillors: Revs. Talbot Wilson Chambers, D.D., LL.D., James Munroe Buckley, D.D., LL.D., Rev. Prof. Henry C. Vedder, and Rev. Chancellor Henry Mitchell MacCracken, D.D., LL.D.

The members then adjourned by invitation to the house of President Hurst and lunched together. Afterwards they met in his library and conducted the private business which had been left to that time. The matter of raising the annual dues from three to five dollars, which had been laid over to this year from last year, was brought up and thoroughly discussed. Whereupon, on motion of the Hon. Edward Pellew, of Washington, it was resolved:

"That it is inexpedient to increase the dues, but it is ordered that a publication fund be formed by voluntary contributions on the part of the members, according to a scheme to be drawn up by the Treasurer and Secretary."

The following persons were unanimously elected to active membership in the Society: Rev. Samuel Lynch Beiler, Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the American University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Michael Wolf Hamma, D.D., Washington, D. C.; Professor Dana Carleton Munro, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. President George Edward Reed, D.D., LL.D., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.; Rev. Matthias Sheeleigh, D.D., Fort Washington, Pa.; Rev. Professor George Frederik Spieker, D.D., Professor of Church History, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. George B. Stewart, D.D., Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. John

James Tigert, D.D., LL.D., editor of the *Methodist Review*, Nashville, Tenn.; President Ethelbert D. Warfield, LL.D., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.; Rev. Professor Revere Franklin Weidner, D.D., LL.D., Lutheran Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the time and place to be determined by the Council.

The following members registered their names: Talbot W. Chambers, Francis A. Chistie, John L. Ewell, John Alfred Faulkner, H. E. Jacobs, Edwin Knox Mitchell, Charles H. Small, Williston Walker.

Besides these were in attendance at one or more sessions our associates: Emerton, Ferree, Fisher, Hamlin, Hurst, Sheldon Jackson, Mackay-Smith, Norcross, Pellew, Power, and Stakely.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,

Secretary.

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DR. SCHAFF AS AN HISTORIAN.

DR. SCHAFF AS AN HISTORIAN.

By Rev. GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D.,
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I cannot begin this brief paper respecting our honored friend, the late President (who was also the founder) of this Society, without expressing my sense of personal bereavement in connection with his death. His unfailing vivacity, his amiable temper, his generous recognition of contemporary scholars in the same field with himself, and his loyal friendship, may well cause us to lament that his genial presence will no more be with us. He had long been a living, visible link, binding us to Germany, the land of scholars, the country which to many of us is an intellectual fatherland. Circumstances—or, what is the same thing, the leadings of Providence—conspired to fit him for that cosmopolitan place and versatile activity which characterized him. A Swiss by birth, but of German extraction, besides his early training in South Germany he studied at the three universities of Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin. Born and bred in the Reformed branch of the Protestant family, he was thus brought into intercourse in his youth with such men as Neander, Tholuck, and Müller, the great lights of the liberal, evangelical—I will not say *party*, for they were of no party, but *class*, among the Lutherans. His theological studies were not less diversified than his personal associations. At Berlin, exegesis was one of the branches which he taught; in the German Reformed Church, while he was Professor at Mercersburg, he gave instruction in all the branches of divinity, and took the lead in composing a liturgy and a hymn-book; in the Presbyterian Church, at the Union Seminary, he instructed

for a while in Hebrew, and was for years professor of sacred literature; he wrote and edited commentaries; he was prominent in the Bible Revision Committee which, on this side of the Atlantic, he organized. After taking up his abode among us, he travelled back and forth between America and Europe, coming into personal relations with a host of scholars in both continents—scholars of almost every religious communion; extending also his travels into Eastern lands. He was ever active in preventing the ocean from being a barrier in the way of the interchange of valuable literary products between peoples on either side. It would be strange indeed if such a man, naturally so appreciative and charitable, and with such experiences, had not shown himself to be of a truly catholic spirit. He could not fail to see how much good there is in all the branches of the Christian household, and although his eyes were also opened to the defects of each, his nature was too kindly and his culture was too broad to permit him to lose his perspective and to magnify faults. His labors in the cause of Christian unity, in connection with the Evangelical Alliance and through other channels, form an important part of his biography. The subject was one that engaged his thoughts in the closing months of his life. Dr. Schaff was one of the most prolific theological authors of the time. He kept the printers and the publishers busy. Yet if you look over the long catalogue of his publications, whatever may be your impressions of them, severally considered, you will find none of them that you will condemn as superficial, barren of valuable contents, or defective in scholarship.

I have spoken of Dr. Schaff's versatility, and of the variety of his theological studies and productions, which cover almost every department of theological science; for in every one he was a teacher, or an author, or an editor. Yet, through his entire career, his chosen field was the History of the Church. In this department his exertions centred. His restless activity and his interest in all sides of the Gospel might frequently draw him out to the right hand and to the left; but here, from the beginning to the end, was his chosen home.

In speaking now particularly of Dr. Schaff as an historian, it occurs to me, in the first place, to say that he has the one primary quality of an historian—a living interest in the past. There are not wanting able men, men in their way largely endowed, who have very little of this feeling. Those who have read the admirably written biography of William G. Ward, one of the ablest men prominent in the Oxford movement, will remember that he cared nothing for history. A metaphysician of singular ability, a man who made his way into the Church of Rome and into the ultramontane party, he was still not in the least interested in historical inquiries or historical books. What is specially remarkable in the case of Mr. Ward is not an unfrequent characteristic of no small number of intellectual men. They are not—certainly not in any marked degree—curious to explore the past. To trace the genesis of the things that now are, is an employment not in the least attractive to them. Such men, if they read history, have no calling to be historians, and if the elect were exclusively made up of historians, they would be reprobates. Now Dr. Schaff, none can doubt, was by nature an historian. It was a delight to him to unveil the past. What men were and what they did and suffered in bygone days, it was a keen enjoyment to him to describe, even when it required a patient scrutiny of mouldy records.

But Dr. Schaff was an historian, not an antiquary. One main source of his interest in historical studies was their bearing on the problems in the Church which confront us at the present day. If he journeyed back into the past, his life was in the present. Hence his frequent references—made sometimes with a kind of *naïveté*—to debates, or to other religious phenomena of one sort or another, which are now taking place. From some period in the distant past—from a sojourn, it may be, with Augustine or Hildebrand,—he suddenly appears, perhaps in a foot-note, not at all as a ghost, but as a living man with blood in his veins,—appears with an observation on some quite recent occurrence. The connection of the present with the past, or the analogy of the one with the other, which, if not expressly pointed out,

is present in the author's mind, helps to give a certain animation to his narrative.

Dr. Schaff's historical writings rest upon a faithful study of the original sources. His philological attainments qualified him for the investigation of them. I should not claim for him, nor would he claim for himself, that his researches had been as exhaustive in this province as were those of the great masters, Neander and Gieseler, with whom Baur is to be associated,—authors to whom he, in common with us all, looked up. Nor had he, in reference to this or that single period, gone so far in the study of the sources as a few writers in Church history who are now living. But he was a true German in his spirit of thoroughness. Whoever will turn to the first volume of his *Creeds of Christendom* and the notes dispersed through the work—to say nothing here of his *Church History*—will see how diligently he had delved in the mines. In one respect Dr. Schaff was not excelled, and probably not equalled by any of the later writers. While he did not neglect the study of the original authorities, he kept himself familiar with the recent literature in his department in all languages. He did not shut himself up with the Fathers and Schoolmen and Reformers, barring the door against co-laborers. He did not pass by anything which they brought to light respecting the Church in the past. He examined everything that appeared, and gathered up whatever stood the test, always giving due credit to any to whom he was indebted.

Here is the place to advert to the great service which Dr. Schaff has rendered to students, older and younger, in the field of bibliography. The lists of books, with the added critical observations which he furnishes, are invaluable. There was not much of any considerable value that he failed to draw into his net. Speaking for myself, I would say that from almost no other feature of his historical writings have I derived more assistance in my studies.

If one were to speak critically of the literary characteristics of Dr. Schaff's *History*, one would have to admit that they are not as to merit, in all respects, up to the level of its con-

tents. The style is lucid. Whatever is said is said distinctly. We are never obliged to strain our eyes as in looking at objects in a fog. The pages are not dry. There is a freshness that engages attention. The author brings himself into communication with the reader. He almost takes the reader into his confidence. The classification of topics is natural and appropriate. There is none of that minuteness of subdivision which sometimes makes the reading of a German writer to be like the study of a text-book of anatomy. These are certainly traits to be prized in any author. What we miss, in a degree, is the complete fusion of the materials, the unbroken continuity, the easy flow of the narrative. The facts are not free from the appearance of being gathered and put together, instead of being brought into an organic relation to one another and to a living whole. Of course, we cannot expect from any one that masterly power of combination, that easy and graceful, although stately, march, which characterizes Gibbon, the greatest of our English historians, the one-hundredth anniversary of whose death occurs the present year. But there are different degrees of distance from Gibbon in this rare quality, which may fitly be called *composition*. In the case of Gibbon, it is one of the number of rare merits that atone for the tumid quality of his style. Considering that Dr. Schaff wrote in English, to him a foreign language, it is remarkable that, as regards the choice of language, he wrote so well.

Dr. Schaff did not live to finish his principal work. As in the case of several other recent histories of the church, it is left incomplete. The pen fell from his hand before the task was finished. In the last two volumes that he wrote, those on the German and the Swiss Reformation, he is perhaps at his best. He stands on familiar ground. With the leaders in the Reformation period he is conversant. He writes of them with that intimacy of knowledge which would belong to one who had lived in their society. He knows their strength, and he is not blind to their weaknesses. He tells the story with a frankness that hides nothing, whether it be creditable or not to the subjects of the narrative. Such

candor is the more worthy of praise because it is unusual. Had the Psalmist been familiar with historians and biographers, it is doubtful whether he would have qualified his impassioned words on the prevalence of mendacity in the world of mankind. It is refreshing to meet with a writer with whom truth-telling is so natural that it costs him no effort. Dr. Schaff knows how to unite a cordial admiration of the heroes of the Reformation with a clear discernment and a faithful exposure of their faults.

There is one attribute of Dr. Schaff, considered as an author, which has already been touched upon, but to which I must again recur. I refer to what his German countrymen call "Unternehmungsgeist"—the courageous spirit of enterprise which led him, not only in middle life, but when much beyond that limit, to enter upon large literary undertakings, —undertakings which involved a great amount of personal labor. Such an undertaking was the issue of the long row of volumes in Lange's *Commentary on the Bible*. Another achievement of the same kind was the *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*. A third undertaking, which may be placed under this general category, was the organizing of the American Revision Committee, with all the correspondence and, so to speak, diplomacy, which devolved on him in connection with its work. The last instance that I shall mention, is the editing of the two series of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Libraries of the Fathers. And I must advert, also, to the four stout volumes of the *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, on the basis of Herzog's German work. It is true that the direct literary work performed by Dr. Schaff in these undertakings was a quite subordinate fraction of the labor which he expended in carrying them out. But in this labor there was included an amount of literary superintendence which would have appalled most literary workers. Verily, we may apply to Dr. Schaff the words applied by the Apostle Paul to himself—"in labors more abundant." Among his manifold productions, the *History of the Church* will remain the most lasting monument of a scholar who served his generation in the use of remarkable powers and with unwearied industry.

SOME ELEMENTS IN THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES.

SOME ELEMENTS IN THE MAKING OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Rev. CHARLES HERBERT SMALL, B.D.,
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The erection of a building requires the preparation of a quantity of material elsewhere. The national structure is no exception. The making of the United States was not begun when the first settlements were established on these shores; the materials were brought from far and wide. Many of the stones built into the foundation of this Republic were hewn out by the Reformation; the formation of the quarries reaches far back. It is not the purpose of this paper to examine the quarries or the work done in them; we will leave this research to others and to another time.

The making of the United States, it may fairly be said, was completed when the Constitution was adopted, and the States began life on that basis. The period prior to that was formative; the subsequent period is the preservation and development of the American Union. The legal existence of the United States dates, according to the decision of the Supreme Court, from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, but we need to go a little farther before considering the United States made. In the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, Mr. Wilson said: "By adopting this Constitution we shall become a nation; we are not now one." [1]

[1] Elliott's *Debates*, vol. ii., p. 526. Says Mr. Bryce: "The acceptance of the Constitution of 1789 made the American people a nation. It turned what had been a League of States into a Federal State, by giving it a National Government with direct authority over all citizens."—*American Commonwealth*, vol. i., p. 29.

The United States as thus made was a nation of enlightened people with laws and religion, a vast territory, and the foundations and possibilities of great development.

Various elements entered into the making of this nation and into the establishment of our institutions, during the formative period. It is not within the range of a single short paper to compass them all, but the more important ones will be considered briefly.

RELIGION.

It is unnecessary to say here, except as a good starting-point, that the color and strength of the national fabric was woven in by those who came to these shores through religious motives, and by those whose characters were moulded by religious influences. Religion was the predominating element in the nation's making; it gave a strong and enduring warp for the weaving of the threads of national laws, education, and economic progress.

The source and character of the religious elements deserve the careful attention of the student of our history. By the convulsive throes of the Reformation communities of people were sent forth into the New World to develop and enlarge the ideas thus set free. The stormy Atlantic was a summer sea compared to the persecutions and conflicts through which they passed, and which developed in them vigor, energy, and determination. Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, Scotch-Irish, Quakers, Moravians, and the like, came here to enjoy in freedom their religious beliefs which was denied them in their native lands. It is not to be supposed that they had no desire to better their condition temporally. They undoubtedly did, but they were so far animated by religious motives as to make that a dominating purpose. That being absent most of them would not have come. And many of those who came for gain and the betterment of their condition were not wanting in religious principles which had more or less control over their actions. Where religion was the motive or where it was prominent there were permanence and progress; otherwise, for the most part,

there was failure. It is not too much, then, to say that the religion of Jesus Christ dominating the hearts of men of intellectual ability, industrial skill, and great energy laid the foundations and built this Republic. Their influence is seen in the industry, intelligence, religion, and laws of the nation.

The religious principles and convictions of most of the colonists were of such a character as to influence the making of the nation in a very marked degree. Many a settlement was inaugurated with song and prayer. The foundation of our greatness and the germs of our national prosperity were laid with prayer and hymn and ordinances of worship. Religion had a direct part during the formative period of the colonies. The lives and the utterances of the leaders, as well as the character of the people in general, together with the fact of a state church in some of the colonies, show the place that religion occupied as an element in our making. From Massachusetts to Georgia, the Church had a first place in the colonies. Yes, there was austerity. An extract from a New England diary of 1716, records:

"Lord's Day, January 15. An extraordinary cold storm of wind and snow. Blows much as coming home at Noon and so holds on. Bread was frozen at the Lord's table; Mr. Pemberton administered. Came not out to afternoon exercise. Tho' 't was so cold, yet John Tuckerman was baptised. At six o'clock my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my wive's chamber. Yet was very comfortable at meeting. *Laus Deo.*"[1]

No doubt there was a severity and a type of orthodoxy that would not be tolerated to-day, and an intolerance that was not confined to New England, but it is hardly more than is to be expected of those who had brought their faith through severe trials and many difficulties, and were zealously striving to maintain and perpetuate what they held dear. A severe indictment of Massachusetts is made by one of her own sons. He says: "In Spain it was the dungeon, the rack, and the fagot; in Massachusetts it was ban-

[1] Johnston, *The United States: Its History and Constitution*, p. 15, note.

ishment, the whip, and the gibbet. In neither case can the records be obliterated. Between them it is only a question of degree,—one may in color be a dark drab, while the other is a jetty black."[1] It is no palliation, of course, but it ought to be remembered that there were other intolerances besides those in Massachusetts, and that the Plymouth colony was quite exempt from harshness and severe intolerance.

"Then it must be borne in mind," says one, "that a colony is to be distinguished from a full-blown state. . . . The conditions of safety for a political community in its cradle are not the same as when it has outlived the days of weakness. . . . But whatever may be set down, fairly or unfairly, to their discredit, on the score of intolerance, it is undeniable that they founded great and enlightened commonwealths. That a better result would have ensued had they—the circumstances being what they were—pursued a system more consonant with modern ideas, is a speculative opinion, which of course it is impossible to bring to a practical test."[2]

The American spirit as it may be called brought forth naturally and in due time religious freedom in the United States. When the Federal Constitution was framed, religious liberty was provided for. "The United States," says Dr. Schaff, "furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion."[3] Each State, however, was left free to deal with religion as it pleased. Some were slow in cutting the cord between church and state: Connecticut in 1818, Massachusetts in 1833.

Religious freedom was the natural outcome of the diverse elements making this nation.

The type of religion brought by the Huguenots while not so open to criticism was nevertheless potent. "They brought

[1] Chas. F. Adams, *Massachusetts: Its Historians and its History*, p. 34.

[2] Fisher, *Colonial Era*, pp. 107, 108. Mr. Doyle remarks: "We must not condemn the banishment of the Brownes unless we are prepared to say that it would have been better for the world if the Puritan colony of Massachusetts had never existed."

[3] *Church and State in the United States*, p. 23.

religious convictions that were not the less firm because accompanied by a certain moderation and pliancy in things not held of vital importance. They brought a love for liberty that was none the less sincere because associated with a tolerance learned in the school of suffering."[1] Undoubtedly the Huguenots made a large contribution to the formation of the religious character of the United States, whither they came "to adore and serve God with freedom."[2] They had become so numerous in New York in 1662 that the colonial papers and laws were published in French as well as Dutch and English.

The Scotch-Irish with their Calvinism brought a strength and energy to the middle and southern colonies, where they chiefly settled, that was very much needed. For while those who settled in the South were not so severely pious as the New Englanders, yet a religious tone and religious principles pervaded all the settlements. The place that religion held in Virginia is evidenced by the requirement of attendance upon parish worship.

The pulpit and the ministry were a very great power in those days, nor am I willing to grant that the power has been lost or lessened, though changed. The clergy as a teaching force and as guiding public affairs had a very large influence. Their work was by no means confined to things spiritual. The first written code of laws for Massachusetts under the charter of 1629 was drawn up by a minister. The electric appeal of John Witherspoon, President of Princeton, had much influence upon others signing the Declaration of Independence.[3]

There were, of course, freethinkers and no thinkers; there were baleful influences, but these were not potent in the laying of the foundations.

[1] Baird, *Huguenot Emigration to America*, vol. ii., p. 233.

[2] See Dorchester's *Christianity in the United States*, p. 32.

[3] See Sloane, *The French War and Revolution*, p. 227; also *Proceedings of Scotch-Irish Society of America*, 1889, p. 183.

INDUSTRY.

Both by reason of their circumstances and because of their previous condition the settlers of the colonies were toilers; they handled the ax, the shovel, the hammer, and the plow. They preferred to beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and use them in this free land, than to remain and endure ceaseless persecutions. Among the Pilgrims, Puritans, Scotch-Irish, and Huguenots were many skilled artisans, and they used their skill to good advantage, laying the foundation by their labor and in their posterity for our remarkable industrial progress. "The people of America," says the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, "with all their faults and foibles, are more religious in the truest sense than any other people; and this, I am sure, is because amongst a democratic people, where there is no hereditary wealth, every man works to earn a living, or has worked, or is the son of parents who have worked; the notion of labor, therefore, being presented to the mind on every side as the necessary, natural, and honest condition of human existence."[1]

This is a part of our goodly heritage. And while we give due weight to the influence of the colonists upon this country in religious principles, we must not fail to give full credit to their industrial contribution, which is so important an element in the making of the United States.

Of the Huguenots it is said: "In every department of labor they were fitted to excel by their morality, their intelligence, and their thrift."[2] And a French writer deplores the loss to Canada of excluding them.[3] These industrious people were found in many colonies. Palfrey's estimate of one hundred and fifty families coming to Massachusetts after the Edict of Nantes, 1685, is probably too low.[4]

It is no less true of the others as of the Huguenots that they were workers having skill and energy. Any one at all

[1] Address on "Relation of Invention to Labor."

[2] Baird, *Huguenot Emigration to America*," vol. i., p. 240.

[3] See *Histoire du Canada depuis sa Decouverte jusqu' a nos Jours*, Garneau.

[4] *History of New England*, vol. i., preface.

familiar with the subject knows what the Pilgrims and Puritans did. The Scotch-Irish introduced the potato, the cultivation of flax, and the use of their little spinning-wheels into New England.[1] And wherever they settled they were no less active. The history of each colony is the history of toil, no mean element to be wrought into any nation.

INTELLIGENCE.

It is frequently remarked that one meets many college graduates among the pioneer settlers of the far west. The same thing was true in the settlement of this country. Intellect and culture were in the forefront of colonization. The early settlers brought with them an intelligence that was as remarkable as it has been valuable in the nation's making. "The educational spirit of the first colonists was intense."[2] They not only left institutions of learning from the common school to the college, but they left to their posterity an enthusiasm and a desire for education. "In the laws establishing common schools lies the secret of the success and character of New England."[3] Graduates of Old-World universities gave of their best to the New World; Puritanism was cradled in Cambridge University. The important place that education held in their thought is seen in the fact that the free common school was established in Massachusetts by order of the General Court in 1647. "Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoofe and benefit to any commonwealth." "The ends," says Cotton Mather, "for which our fathers chiefly erected a college were that scholars might there be educated for the service of Christ and his churches in the work of the ministry, and that the youth might be seasoned in their tender years with such principles as brought their blessed progenitors into this wilderness."[4]

Institutions of higher learning were early established, and the colleges and universities that have been founded since

[1] See *Proceedings of Scotch-Irish Society of America*, 1890, p. 140.
[2] Hurst. [3] Bancroft. [4] *Magnalia.*

are but the outcome of the intellectual spirit that was early implanted. New England was prominent in this matter.

"The first immigration into New England contained an unusually large proportion of English university men, particularly among the ministers. These fixed the mould into which their descendants have been run, and New England's influence in the United States has been due largely to them."[1]

The Dutch also had as a direct aim to extend and preserve the blessings of education and religion. The Scotch-Irish were probably among the best educated colonists who came here.[2]

Berkeley wrote of Virginia in 1671, that every man according to his ability (and there was much) taught his own children, but there were no free schools.

The early settlers laid broad, deep intellectual foundations, and this element in the making has been well built upon.

LAWS.

From the drawing up of the compact on board the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod harbor onward large attention has been given to the making of laws for the wise and just government of the communities. Those who were instrumental in framing our laws were trained and prepared for their work amid conflicts that developed the truest ideas of liberty and religion. William Penn was not the only one who believed that "God was the beginning and the end of government," and thought of government "as part of religion itself."

We are wont to seek laboriously for the origin of our laws and institutions in far away places and times while the exigencies of the case are responsible for many of them. One has truly said, "Republican institutions in America were merely the result of the application, first and last, of practical

[1] Johnston, *The United States: Its History and Constitution*, p. 16.

[2] See a paper, "What the Scotch-Irish have Done for Education," by Prof. Macloskie, in *Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Society of America*, 1889, p. 90 *et seq.*

shrewdness to the wants and circumstances of the people."[1] Undoubtedly, however, the makers of the State constitutions and of the national Constitution had models and were influenced by other laws and institutions and writings, and yet, as Sir Henry Maine remarks, "the Constitution of the United States was the fruit of signal sagacity and prescience."[2] Elaborate argument has been made to show that the New England town meeting is of Germanic origin.[3] But it is one thing to show the similarity and quite another thing to prove the connection of one with the other. Dr. Griffis, the late Douglas Campbell, and others would supply the link for the argument through Holland. They not only find there the suggestion of the town, but also the common school, the written ballot, and other institutions. There is great weight to their arguments. It could not be otherwise than that the Dutch should largely influence those who sojourned in their land before coming here, and those in the regions where they went to live. The town meeting was the centre of wide influence in New England, the county meeting served much the same purpose in Virginia and the Southern colonies. These two different conditions were due to the different methods of colonization; the New Englanders came and settled as towns, the Southerners came attached to the colony.[4]

The full, free and general consideration and discussion of affairs produced good and just laws. It is unnecessary to say that the so-called "Blue Laws" of Connecticut are a fabrication except that ever and anon some one parades them for ridicule, thus displaying his own ignorance.

Religion had its effect in the making of our laws. In forming a confederation between the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, in 1643, it was affirmed: "Wee all came into these parts of America with the same end and ayme, namely, to advance the kingdom of

[1] Edward Eggleston, *Century*, vol. xxv., 358.

[2] *Popular Government*, p. 109.

[3] See *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. i., No. 2, p. 5.

[4] See Johnston, *The United States: Its History and Constitution*, p. 9 *et seq.*

our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties thereof with puritie and peace, and for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel."

The part taken by the Scotch-Irish in making and maintaining our laws is second only to that of the Puritans. The Mecklenburg Declaration drawn up by Scotch-Irish antedated the Declaration of Independence and had its influence in the framing of it.[1]

These elements of power, viz., industry, education, religion, and laws that entered into the making of the United States were contributed by Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, Moravians, Quakers, and the like. Their intermingling meant the enhancing of their powers. "The Frenchman's quick wit gave a keener edge to the shrewdness of the Yankee. The perseverance of the Huguenot, fortified under the long strain of persecution, reinforced the energy of the New Englanders, sturdy and self-asserting."[2] We find the Huguenot, with his love of liberty, his industry, his cheerfulness, and his religion, in almost every colony from the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth to the Carolinas and Georgia. Each colony, each community, gave its quota of influence.

"Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a state prosper—it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the West. Was a sect persecuted—it escaped to the New World. The Reformation, followed by collisions between English Dissenters and the Anglican Hierarchy, colonized New England. The Reformation, emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the example of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of a popular representation, Holland originated for them the principle of federal union."[3]

[1] Sloane, *French War and Revolution*, p. 194; Campbell's *Puritan in England, Holland, and America*, vol. ii., p. 486.

[2] Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, vol. ii., p. 252.

[3] Bancroft's *History of United States*, vol. ii., p. 256.

The welding together of the colonies in which there were the elements of industry, education, religion, and laws into one United States was a very large and long process. The full fusion did not take place until our own day, and some have their doubts as to whether even now it is accomplished.

An impetus was given towards it by the French and Indian War. It revealed to the colonists their strength; it helped to train officers and soldiers; it gave a vast territory; and, in the right to it being reserved by the Crown, was the germ of dissatisfaction that grew into a revolution.

Cords were snapped and new ones formed between the colonies; these increased and strengthened. The revolution and separation may well be said to have been inevitable, but it needed the cupidity and stupidity of the English Parliament and Crown to bring it to a consummation. And their friends in America were in large measure responsible by reason of their accounts of "treason" and "rebellion," and in stirring up enmities. The colonists were slow to separate, slow to declare their independence, but they may almost be said to have been forced to it. The blunders of the English ministry are accountable for the growth of the desire for a union among the American colonies.

The southern colonies, especially Virginia and the Carolinas, had their full share in the making.[1] Their characteristics are found in a blending of Scotch-Irish, Huguenots, and English. The three colonies demanding redress from England were Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina.

Having gained their independence, the utmost wisdom and patience were necessary in gathering and preserving the results of it. The five years from the surrender at Yorktown to the adoption of the Constitution has well been termed the critical period. Some may doubt, however, whether it is the most critical.[2] The years preceding the Declaration of Independence were certainly very critical. But whether there were to be thirteen little republics jealous of each

[1] This subject is ably presented in Curry's *The Southern States of the American Union.*

[2] Fiske, *Critical Period of American History*, p. 55.

other, or one strong nation, was a question for wise statesmanship to settle. We were fortunate in having it, brought forth as a product of those elements we have been considering. Those who entered into the preserving and developing of the nation owed much to those who helped to make it, not forgetting the part that Providence had in the guidance, direction, and overruling of affairs. Other men labored, and we have entered into their labors.

JUDGE SAMUEL SEWALL (1652–1730), A TYPICAL MASSACHUSETTS PURITAN.

JUDGE SAMUEL SEWALL (1652–1730), A TYPICAL MASSACHUSETTS PURITAN.

By Rev. JOHN LEWIS EWELL,

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The publication of the Sewall diary and letters was begun by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1878 and went on for ten years.[1] The result is five goodly octavo volumes. These make a quarry that has been very largely drawn upon. Dr. Green, the librarian of the Society, told the writer last summer that no other of their publications had had such a sale, and that the demand for them still continues; but the material is so great and its character so rich that the writer would hope that there may still be room for his modest sketch. He has aimed to look at the Judge throughout as typical of the stock from which he sprung and of the province and age in which he lived.

He wrote in a letter to his son Samuel: "I was born at Bishop-Stoke, March 28, 1652, so that the light of the Lord's Day was the first light that my eyes saw, being born a little before day-break."[2]

Bishop-Stoke is in England, but Sewall's father was one of the settlers of Newbury, in Massachusetts. In the same letter Judge Sewall wrote: "my Grandfather . . . out of dislike to the English Hierarchy sent over his only son, my Father Mr. Henry Sewall, to New England in the year 1634 with Net Cattel and Provisions suitable for a new

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, vols. v.–vii., Fifth Series: *Sewall Papers*. vols. i.–ii., Sixth Series: *Sewall's Letter-book*.

[2] *Sewall Papers*, I., xii.—Reference are not given in this essay when the date or some other circumstance indicates about where the quotation may be found.

Plantation. Mr. Cotton would have had my Father settle at Boston; but in regard of his Cattel he chose to goe to Newbury whether my Grandfather soon followed him." This extract shows at once the superior social position of his family and their fidelity to their principles. He was, as we say, well born.

His parents returned to England in the winter of 1646–7, for family reasons. In 1659 his father came back to Newbury, and two years later his mother took her little brood of five children, the oldest being under twelve, and recrossed the ocean to her husband.

Sewall now became a school-boy in Newbury; there was the New England homestead of the family, there one after another of his sisters found a home, and thither it was always his delight to go. The old town is full of beauty. The river Parker winds its leisurely way amidst its fertile fields and grassy and wooded hills toward the sea, with broad, level salt marshes for its immediate border. Any one who has had the good fortune to stand by the Preceptor's house at Dummer Academy and look down on the marshes, or at "the Lower Green," and look across the river, or best of all to cross the Parker at sunset of a summer's day, when a cooling breeze laden with the saltness of the tide-water swept up the stream, will, I am sure, always cherish in his memory a pleasant picture of "Ould Newberry."

Judge Sewall looked on his childhood's home with the eye of a poet and a seer, as appears from his beautiful prophecy. The localities that he mentions are familiar to all who are familiar with the town.

"As long as *Plum Island* shall faithfully keep the commanded Post; notwithstanding the hectoring words and hard blows of the proud and boisterous ocean; As long as any Salmon or Sturgeon shall swim in the streams of *Merrimack;* or any Perch or Pickeril in *Crane Pond;* As long as the Sea Fowl shall know the Time of their coming, and not neglect seasonably to visit the Places of their Acquaintance; As long as any Cattel shall be fed with the Grass growing in the Meadows, which do humbly bow themselves before *Turkie Hill;* As long as any Sheep shall walk upon *Old-Town*

Hills, and shall from thence pleasantly look down upon the River *Parker*, and the fruitful *Marishes* lying beneath; As long as any free and harmless Doves shall find a White Oak or other Tree within the Township to perch or feed or build a careless Nest upon; and shall voluntarily present themselves to perform the office of Gleaners after Barley-Harvest; As long as Nature shall not grow Old and dote; but shall constantly remember to give the rows of Indian Corn their education by Pairs; So long shall Christians be born there; and being first made meet, shall from thence be Translated to be made partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light."[1]

It was still the primitive era when Sewall was a school-boy in Newbury. The town had been settled but twenty-six years when his mother brought him over. The first settlers were all about him, and his childish ear must have been often entertained with the story of their hardships and perils, their fortitude and faith. Behind them was the sombre primeval forest where the Indian lurked and whence the wolf and the bear stole forth to prey on the flocks and herds, and before them was the lonely ocean. Many of the people still lived in houses built of logs or covered with rude boards tediously sawn by hand over the saw-pits which may yet be traced in many a forest, and they were roofed with thatch from the river-bank; forks were unknown at the table, and the mealy potato did not yet accompany their meat, nor did the good women yet know of the cup that cheers but not inebriates—but simple plenty reigned. In my native town of Rowley that lies just across the river Parker from Newbury there is no record of a pauper until 1678. Newbury had vast flocks of sheep despite the wolves.

The earliest letter of Sewall's that has come down to us contains one or two sentences which show the industry and intelligence and piety of his home. He writes of "little Betty," who seems to have been his little sister Mehitabel, then not quite seven years old: "She can Read and Spin passing well; Things (*Me saltem judice*) very desirable in a woman. She read through one Volume of the Book of Martyrs in three Moneths space; improving only leisure

[1] Coffin's *History of Newbury*, 368, 369.

times [at] night." The first volume of my Fox, edition of 1641, contains 1033 pages folio. This may well have been the edition in the Sewall family; if it was, "little Betty" was a diligent reader, while the character of the *Book of Martyrs* shows that her nerves were strong.

The august position of the minister in the Puritan settlement may be illustrated by a sentence from Ezekiel Rogers, the first pastor of the neighboring town of Rowley. Mr. Rogers outlived Sewall's birth eight years. When a stranger ventured to inquire of him: "Are you, Sir, the person who serves here?" "I," he replied, "am, Sir, the person who rules here"[1]; but that early Puritan ministry of New England deserved the profound and affectionate respect of their own and of all subsequent generations.

Young Sewall entered Harvard College when he was fifteen. He writes: "My father brought me. . . . I was admitted by the very learned and pious Mr. Charles Chauncey."[2]

Sewall was a life-long student and friend of letters. He made large importations of books. One order has a range from Turretin's *Theology* and Poole's *Synopsis to Virgil, Terence and Ovid.*[3] He wrote Latin poetry whose metre Dr. Everett has pronounced faultless.[4] He anticipated one of the happiest changes made by the Revised Version of the Bible, namely, the substitution of flock for fold in the latter part of John x., 16; and he supported the proposed change with a learned argument.[5] He sent to a Spanish West-Indian governor, who seems to have been stopping in Boston, a Spanish commentary on Job, and offered to lend him a Spanish Bible.[6] The obituary notice of him in the *Boston News Letter* speaks of "his critical acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures in their inspired Originals."[7]

When Yale College was founded he was one of the two that were applied to for the draft of a charter, and he repeatedly contributed to its library.

[1] Gage's *History of Rowley*, 13.
[2] *Sewall Papers*, I., xiii.
[3] *Letter-Book*, i., 237.
[4] *Letter-Book*, II., ix.
[5] *Letter-Book*, i., 297.
[6] *Letter-Book*, i., 386.
[7] *Sewall Papers*, iii., 410.

During his college course one Thomas Sargeant, a student, was, he tells us, "convicted of speaking blasphemous words against the H. G." He was sentenced to a threefold penalty; one part was that he should be "publicly whipped before all the Scholars," so "he kneeled down and the instrument Goodman[1] Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President."[2]

At his graduation there was present a young girl whose features we may be sure bespoke her purity and sweetness of character. It was Hannah Hull, the only child to reach adult years of John Hull, the famous Mint Master of Massachusetts. On that happy day Hannah "set her affection" on Samuel, although she did not whisper it to him until after their marriage, which took place nearly four years later, namely, Feb. 28, 1676. Her father was remarkable for enterprise and piety, and had become very rich for those days. Sewall writes that he had by her "an Estate that might afford a competent Subsistence according to our manner of living in N. E."[3] That would seem to have been a modest estimate, for Coffin writes "it is said [that he] received with her thirty thousand pounds in New England shillings."[4] The legend that she stepped into the scales at the wedding and had for her dowry her weight in pine-tree shillings has received beautiful treatment at the hands of Hawthorne. As in the case of every good wife, Hannah Hull's best dowry was herself. She bore her husband fourteen children, and from his many absences on judicial duties the training of the children must have devolved on her to an unusual degree; their worthy character is her best monument.

Mr. Sewall tremblingly united with what is now known as the Old South Church of Boston, March 30, 1677, being then twenty-five years old.

Mr. Sewall's own family and that of his wife, his educa-

[1] Goodman was used of common people, Mister was reserved for those of superior position.

[2] *Sewall Papers*, i., 4. [3] *Sewall Papers*, i., 251. [4] *History of Newbury*, 56.

tion, and his estate, combined to make him very early a leading man in the colony, but he never relied on these favoring circumstances; he always felt that to whom much is given, of him much is required. In his early life at least he was in active mercantile business. The bitter life and death struggle of King Philip's war was now over, and the colony had entered on a very prosperous decade. Sewall traded with London, Barbados, the Leeward Isles, Jamaica, Antigua, and other places. Even at that early day his

> "Ships [by traffic linked] these highlands
> Bleak and cold of ours,
> With the citron-planted islands
> Of a clime of flowers,
> To our frosts the tribute bringing,
> Of eternal heats,
> In our lap of winter flinging
> Tropic fruits and sweets."

The article most frequently mentioned in his invoices is fish. The codfish which hangs over the Speaker's chair in the Massachusetts House of Representatives is not an emblem to be ashamed of, for the colony's fisheries laid the foundation of her greatness. Sewall also did a large business in lumber. His father and he put more than £2000 into their Salmon Falls saw-mill. Sept. 14, 1687 he made his way into the swamp to see a great mast taken out. He writes: [it was] "about 26 inches or 28 and there were about two and thirty yoke of oxen before and about four yoke by the side of the Mast between the fore and hinder wheels. 'T was a very notable sight." It must have been, and one that could not be matched in that region now. The number of oxen has diminished almost as much as that of giant masts. The horse is quicker, but there was a twofold gain in raising oxen; "much increase was by the strength of the ox," and the carcass made the best of meat.

Judge Sewall was also "a lover of husbandry." If his father brought over neat cattle he laid those who should come after under obligation by his devotion to agriculture. He improved the quality of the pear and apple crop by

grafting, and all through his life he was planting choice forest-trees; he set out the sweetbriar in the pasture—that rose whose tint and delicate foliage and exquisite perfume unite to make it such a favorite. Sewall is one of those to whom we are indebted for this native of Europe that now adds beauty to many a wild and rocky New England pasture. Although a gentleman, he was not a mere gentleman farmer. In early manhood he writes: "Push caterpillars off the apple-trees." In 1701, when he was chosen captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, he told them that he "was surprised that they had mistaken a sorry pruning-hook for a military spear." After he became Chief-Justice his son "Sam" seems to have been driven with his farm work, and to have sought and obtained his father's help, as the following entry indicates: "My Son comes for me with his Calash. . . . Helped my Son in beginning to cut his Stalks: Gathered up about 4 Bushels Aples, eat very good Grapes."[1]

Judge Sewall filled a large place in public affairs. He did not rush into politics. At the age of thirty-one he became deputy, that is, member of the colonial legislature, three years later he was Councillor, for six years he was Selectman, Moderator, and Overseer of the Poor. Meanwhile he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court, then Judge of Probate, and last of all, in 1718, when he was sixty-six years old, he was appointed Chief-Justice. When he was seventy-three years old he declined re-election as Councillor after thirty-three years' continuous service besides the years before Massachusetts became a crown province, and three years later he laid down the offices of Chief-Justice and Judge of Probate,[2] so that he died a private citizen. These long periods of public service show the wisdom of that age which did not think it worth while to sacrifice the experience of an able officer in order to give everybody a turn in the honor and the profit.

One is at first a little surprised to come upon a letter

[1] *Sewall Papers*, iii., 225.

[2] List at the end of Dr. Ellis's address upon Samuel Sewall at the dedication of the Sewall tablet in the new Old South Church, Oct. 26, 1884.

from him,[1] asking for the chief-justiceship. It is, however, a straightforward, manly statement of the grounds on which he thinks himself entitled to the appointment. It reveals a spirit the opposite to that which is ready to pull any wire and use any means to overthrow rivals and gain a coveted office; moreover, a subsequent entry in the diary shows that the letter was written in response to a visit made by a friend of the Governor, and at his request, to learn whether Sewall would take the office, so that the letter does not seem open to any criticism.

Judge Sewall has been charged with being once influenced by family considerations in his judicial conduct; the case was that of two young men named La Blond and Gerrish, who were brought before him for travelling on the Lord's Day. The ground of criticism is contained in the following quotation from his diary: "They were young Mr. La Blond's Mother my Neighbour Mr. Gerrish had a smell of Relation: both of them of another Province: and I feared lest my cousin's custom might be lessened by it, because I had the information from her Husband."[2] That "smell of Relation" looks a little suspicious, but it will be noticed that it is by no means the only scruple urged. Their youth and residence outside the province also occurred to him, and it was perhaps proper that he should consider the injury that might ensue to the family that gave him the information. After all he required a humble apology, and, as they would not make that, he actually fined them 40*s.*

We ought also to read these two other extracts from his journal touching the case. "Being in a strait, I had pray'd to God to direct," and five days after, "I hope God heard my Prayer, and directed me to do Right and accepted me." It should be borne in mind that we have in Sewall's diary a frank, childlike record of his life. Where is the judge who has sat on the bench twenty-nine years whose official conduct would better bear so full disclosure?

The most important fact in Sewall's judicial career is his connection with the witchcraft mania. It was his first experi-

[1] *Letter*, Book ii., 89.

[2] *Sewall Papers*, iii., 82.

ence as judge, and his name stands sixth in the list of judges. He would naturally defer to his more prominent colleagues, and this makes his assumption of special responsibility in his subsequent confession very magnanimous. It seems incredible that honest men of common sense could have condemned to death men and women of unblemished Christian character on the testimony largely of children that they were tormented by spectres in the shape of the accused persons, but there is no reason whatever to doubt the sincerity of magistrate or minister. They were borne on to the fearful conclusion by their unquestioning belief in witchcraft and their conviction that it was their duty to suppress it by the utmost penalty. The error and the resultant tragedies were not peculiar to them. Witchcraft was for centuries the nightmare of Christendom. The nineteen persons executed in Salem in 1692 seem hardly worthy of mention when we think of the tens and hundreds of thousands put to death on the same charge in Europe.[1]

The first reference to the matter in Sewall's diary shows his absolute belief in the possibility of witchcraft and his horror at the indications that it was actually being practised in Salem. The entry reads: "Ap. 11, 1692, went to Salem, where in the meeting-house the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; was a very great assembly; 't was awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes prayed at the beginning, and Mr. Higginson concluded [in the margin] Vae, Vae, Vae, Witchcraft." Four years and more after, he writes: "Dec. 24, 1696. Sam recites to me in Latin, Matt. 12, from the 6th to the end of the 12th v. The 7th verse did awfully bring to mind the Salem Tragedie."[2] This entry shows that he had come—not probably to disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft—but to be convinced that he had condemned the Salem sufferers on insufficient evidence.

The next entry is: "Dec. 25, 1696, we bury our little

[1] Fisher, *Hist. Christian Church*, 479.

[2] Matt. xii., 7: "But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

daughter." Before they bore the body from the house, his four surviving children each read a passage from the Bible, and he adds, "I speak to each as God helped me, to our mutual comfort I hope." January 11, 1697, he writes: "God helped me to pray more than ordinarily that he would make up our Loss in the burial of our little daughter and other children." He had now buried eight out of his thirteen children, two within the previous eight months, and his heart was very humble and tender under his Heavenly Father's chastening.

The memorable Fast Day came on January 14, 1696–97. Sewall was now and had been for four years a member of the Royal Council of the Province. He was in his forty-fifth year, and no citizen of his age in Boston stood higher than he. Although almost two centuries have passed, any one must be touched with sympathy and reverence who keeps in mind Sewall's position in the Province, and the way in which God had led him to his confession, and then pictures to himself the scene—the crowded house, and Sewall humbly standing while the confession is read and bowing at its close. The entry in his diary is: "Copy of the Bill I put up on the Fast day; giving it to Mr. Willard as he passed by, and standing up at the reading of it, and bowing when finished: in the Afternoon.

"Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and his family, and being sensible, that as to the Guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this day relates) he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins, personal and Relative. And according to his infinite Benignity and Sovereignty, not visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land: But that he would powerfully defend him against all Temptations to Sin, for the future: and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit."

Mr. Hill[1] says: "In all his distinguished career he was never so great as at that moment."

It would make a noble subject for some painter who combined artistic genius with an appreciation of "a broken and a contrite spirit."

One is reminded of the royal penitent as he cried: "Have mercy upon me, O God."

Twelve days after he lodged in Charlestown, in a house built by John Harvard, the "revered founder" of Harvard College, of whom so little and yet so much is known. The Judge writes:

"As I lay awake past midnight In my Meditation, I was affected to consider how long ago God had made provisions for my comfortable Lodging that night: seeing that was Mr. Harvard's house; And that led me to think of Heaven the House not made with hands, which God for many Thousands of years has been storing with the richest furniture (saints that are from time to time placed there), and that I had some hopes of being entertained in that Magnificent Convenient Palace every way fitted and furnished. These thoughts were very refreshing to me."

If the confession suggests the fifty-first Psalm, the meditation reminds one of that other Psalm beginning, "Blessed is he whose transgressions is forgiven," and closing, "Be glad in the Lord and rejoice, ye righteous; and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart." The afternoon confession and the midnight musing would make companion pictures.

A fresh study of the Salem tragedies has deepened my conviction that the influence of the ministers was exerted to moderate not to inflame the popular frenzy. Mr. Hill says that Mr. Willard, the pastor of the Old South, made determined opposition to the judicial proceedings. When the judges took council of the ministers they replied through Cotton Mather, whose letter was chiefly one of caution; personally he used prayer in the case of those who seemed bewitched, and with happy results; he also withheld the names of persons implicated by witnesses that he privately exam-

[1] Hill's *History Old South Church of Boston*, i., 292.

ined. At other signal points Cotton Mather was far ahead of his age. He condemned the severe treatment of Quaker fanatics.[1] He deserves a monument for introducing inoculation in the terrible plague of small-pox in 1721, when one in every three people of Boston had it, and one in twenty died. The ignorant rabble was infuriated with him because they thought he aggravated the pestilence. A murderous grenade was hurled into his chamber with the words attached: "Cotton Mather. You Dog; Dam you I'll enoculate you with this with a pox to you." But the brave philanthrophist persevered.

The gentle Whittier misapprehends him when he speaks of him as

> "Stirring the while in the shallow pool
> Of his brains for the lore he learned at school."

Granted that he was pedantic, sensitive, quick tempered, at times unjust, he was on the whole a noble man.

Sewall suffered from his faults of disposition, but he continued to prize his prayers and to regard a visit from him as an honor. It is significant that Bancroft's earlier denunciation of him is softened in later editions. That fact is in keeping with the general change in the estimate of the character of Cotton Mather. It has come to be recognized that he holds a very honorable place amongst the "Makers of America."[2]

Let us pass from Sewall's judicial career to his political position in general. Massachusetts lost her dear colonial charter in 1684. Sewall lamented but submitted. He even took out new titles to his property under Andros. For this he tells us that "the generality of People . . . look upon me very sorrowfully that I have given way"[3]; but this submission was a mark of wisdom not of weakness. The heroic John Wise, of Ipswich, had tried resistance the year

[1] Hill's *History Old South Church*, i., 218.

[2] See Prof. Wendell's excellent life of him in the series of books bearing that title.

[3] Sewall *Papers*, i., 231.

before at cost of fine and imprisonment, but in vain. The towns had submitted, it was idle for individuals to stand out. When nothing could be gained it would have been foolhardy to persist along that line; the patriots took a wiser course and smuggled Increase Mather on shipboard and sent him to England with their remonstrances and petitions, and the result was the new charter, which, though inferior to the old, was vastly preferable to no charter at all and despotism like that of Andros'.

Sewall's position in politics was that of a true and brave patriot and Christian; he made a written protest against an adulatory address to Governor Dudley, successfully withstood his claim to a veto power over the election of speaker by the house of Deputies, and absolutely refused to attend meetings of the council unless they were opened with prayer. Dudley was a native of Roxbury, and is pithily said by Bancroft to have been "as good a governor as one could be who loved neither freedom nor his native land." Sewall's firmness is the more commendable because his son Samuel had married the governor's daughter Rebecca.

Sewall had the courage of his convictions against the people no less than the government. He was the persistent opponent of fiat money. Massachusetts entered upon that path in 1690, after Phipps's disastrous Quebec expedition, and plunged deeper and deeper into the financial slough. In 1712, when a further inflation of the currency was proposed, Sewall was told that he would "do well to be out of the way rather than hinder so great a good." His answer was a courageous speech on that very day against the proposed increase. In that speech he said: "If money be wanting, 't were a better expedient to oblige Creditors to take Wheat, Indian Corn, Salt, Iron, Wool, at a moderate valuation, as twas of old; Then there would be a Quid pro Quo." The whole speech would be healthy reading for the advocates of cheap money to-day.

Although frequently in the opposition, Sewall always remembered the precept, "Honor the King." He said on one occasion in the Council: "There are some men in the world

are so mortally sick of the Plague of Selfishness that except they might be Charioteers they wished the Chariot burnt or off the Wheels. I was for upholding the Government whether in or out of it."[1]

Sewall's record upon the question of slavery may be fittingly noticed in connection with his politics. Slavery had long existed in Massachusetts. Governor Winthrop in his will of October 29, 1639, had disposed of what he termed "my Indians,"[2] but the number of slaves in the colony had been few. In 1676 Randolph reported that there were not over two hundred,[3] and four years later Governor Bradstreet estimated that there were (exclusive of Indians it would seem) only from two hundred and fifty to three hundred,[4] but the number was increasing; the fish exported to the West Indies was exchanged for molasses, the molasses distilled into rum, the rum sent to Africa, and used to pay for negroes.

It was a little later that a dealer in rum and negroes gave his African agent the instructions: "Woter yr rum as much as possible, and sell as much by the short mesuer as you can,"[5] but no doubt it would illustrate one phase, and that not the most reprehensible, of the traffic in Sewall's day; as would also "the bill" of thanks put up by "an elder" who was in the trade, "that an over-ruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom, another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a Gospel dispensation."[6]

Sewall says that he had "been much and long dissatisfied with the trade of fetching Negroes from Guinea."[7] On the 24th of June, 1700, his dissatisfaction found expression in the publication of a tract entitled, *The Selling of Joseph*, the title being suggested by the sale of Joseph by his brethren to the Ishmaelites. The tract is a clear and forcible presentation of the sin and mischief of the traffic in human beings, with special reference to negro slavery. Its chief

[1] *Sewall Papers*, iii., 84.
[2] *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, ii., 252.
[3] Palfrey, iii., 298.
[4] Weeden, 465.
[4] Palfrey, iii., 325.
[5] Weeden, 465.
[7] *Sewall Papers*, ii., 16.

argument is summed up in its closing sentence: "These *Ethiopians* as black as they are, seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the last ADAM and the Offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable." Hill affirms this to be "the earliest positive public challenge to slavery in Massachusetts."[1] Some one else has termed it the "voice of one crying in the wilderness," and fittingly, for his views ran counter to the strong popular sentiment. "Few," he says, "can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free." More than two generations were to pass before, in the midst of the struggle for its own liberties, the province should recognize the right of all men to be free.

> "Honor and praise to the Puritan,
> Who the halting step of his age outran,
> And, seeing the infinite worth of man,
> In the priceless gift the Father gave,
> In the infinite love that stooped to save,
> Dared not brand his brother a slave."

He was always true to the spirit of his tract. Nineteen years later, when a grandson of his and the daughter of a negro wood-chopper were baptized together in his church, he wrote in his diary, "so all are one in Christ."

He recognized his brother in the Indian no less than in the negro. King Philip's war and the subsequent crushing out of manliness in the Indians of the province had begotten a general hatred and contempt for the Indian, but the more he was hated and despised by others, the more faithful friend he found in Sewall. He educated the Indian, slept in his wigwam, and partook of his humble fare. He demanded Indian reservations, saying: "It will be a vain attempt for us to offer Heaven to them . . . if we . . . grudge them a Living on their own earth."[2] He writes in 1716: "I essayed June 22 to prevent Indians and Negros being Rated with Horses and Hogs but could not prevail." This

[1] *History of Old South Church.*
[2] *Letter-Book*, i., 233.

heathenish custom finds illustration in an inventory taken five years before in Sewall's own town of Newbury.[1]

Fifteen sheep old and young	£3 15s
An old gun	2
An old negroe man	10
	£13 7s

As also this in the inventory of the estate of Moses Gerrish, who was probably Judge Sewall's brother-in-law or nephew:

Barley, Indian corn, and oats	£ 10
An Indian slave	20

Let us now look at the Judge in his home. In 1693 he built him a new house. Its architecture was at once pious and enterprising. Its painted shutters reminded the admiring visitor of Paradise, and it had two cherubim at the entrance.

> "In that mansion used to be
> Free-hearted Hospitality;
> His great fires up the chimney roared,
> The stranger feasted at his board."

Records of bountiful entertainment abound, nor was the hospitality limited to those who would be likely to invite the host and hostess in return. He writes under date of Friday, Jan. 16, 1701–2:

"My Wife treats her Midwife and Women: Had a good Dinner, Boil'd Pork, Beef, Fowls; very good Roast Beef, Turkey-Pye, Tarts. Madam Usher carv'd, Mrs. Hañah Greenlef; Ellis, Cowell, Wheeler, Johnson, and her daughter Cole, Mrs. Hill our Nurses Mother, Nurse Johnson, Hill, Hawkins, Mrs. Goose, Deming, Green, Smith, Hatch, Blin. Comfortable, moderat wether; and with a good fire in the stove warmed the room."

Dr. Ellis says "here were sixteen professional 'Women' presided over by a Lady."

There was family government in the house, but no rigor. I recall but one explicit mention of corporal punishment,

[1] Both inventories are from Coffin's *Newbury*, 183, but the arithmetic or the printing of the first is as faulty as its morality.

and but one other place where it may be inferred. The latter entry is as follows: "Corrected Sam, for breach of the 9th Commandment, saying he had been at the Writing School, when he had not." "Sam" was then ten years old. The other entry reads: "Nov. 6. Joseph"—he was then four years old—"threw a Knop of Brass and hit his sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whip'd him pretty smartly. When I first went in (call'd by his grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the Cradle: which gave me sorrowful remembrance of Adam's carriage." I submit that so few such entries in so copious and frank a record and where there were so many children prove the parental sceptre to have been mild.

It was a very affectionate home. A German poet says that love shows itself particularly at greeting and parting. Sewall's affectionateness appears throughout his diary, but I will take for an illustration of it his words at the open grave of his mother. These words also show, as do others quoted in this sketch, his mastery of choice English. It was January 15, 1700-1, and he was nearly forty-nine years old. The entry reads:

"Nathan[1] Bricket taking in hand to fill the grave, I said, Forbear a little and suffer me to say That amidst our bereaving sorrows we have the comfort of beholding this saint put into the rightfull possession of that Happiness of Living desir'd and dying Lamented. She lived comendably Four and Fifty years with her dear Husband and my dear Father: and she could not well brook the being divided from him at his death; which is the cause of our taking leave of her in this place.[1] She was a true and constant Lover of God's Word, Worship, and Saints: and she always, with a patient cheerfulness, submitted to the divine Decree of providing Bread for herself and others in the sweat of her Brows. And now her infinitely Gracious and Bountiful Master has promoted her to the honor of higher Employments, fully discharged from all manner of

[1] Her husband had died eight months before.

Toil, and Sweat. My honoured and beloved Friends and Neighbours! my Mother never thought much of doing the most frequent and homely offices of Love for me; and lavished away many thousands of Words upon me, before I could return one word in Answer: And therefore I ask and hope that none will be offended that I have now ventured to speak one word in her behalf; when shee herself is become speechless. Made a Motion with my hand for the filling of the Grave. Note, I could hardly speak for passion and Tears."

How beautiful the type of womanly womanhood herein pictured—not the attempted repetition but the counterpart of a noble manhood.

Although Sewall's love flowed forth lavishly to the home circle and his immediate relatives, it did not exhaust itself among them. This love bore substantial fruit. He gave no Christmas gifts, but he was giving throughout the year. He gave all sorts of gifts to all sorts of people—now a shilling to one who brought good news, and now "2 Balls of Chockalete and a pound Figgs" to a "languishing" man, here to "Cous Greenleaf, . . . the Catechise Day of Doom, &c., bound together in a good cover, in part for mother's passage"—that is from Newbury to Boston—and there a gold ring to the Governor. Sometimes his gifts were curiously associated, as when he "treated" Madam Owen "with a Glass of good cider," and gave her "one of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons." He gave very many larger gifts, such as a Cooper's Latin-English Dictionary that cost fifteen shillings, or a "Calvin on Isa. and Daniel, a hansom folio": he adds in this instance, "well accepted," and it would be now by any biblical student, for John Calvin is still a prince amongst commentators. In another place we find him educating an Indian youth for the ministry.

It appears to have been an era of thoughtful kindnesses. Sewall received as well as gave, as the following entry shows:

"John Arcus brings me a superscribed paper, wherein were a pair of very good white Kid's Leather Gloves, and a Gold Ring with four peny weight wanting 3 Grains, with this Motto *Lex et Libertas* A. T. I have received 4 Presents

lately: 4 Oranges, 2 Pieces of Salmon, Madame Foxcroft's Wedding Cake; and this which is a very fair Present indeed. I have hardly any to compare with it. The good Lord help me to serve faithfully the Supream Donor."

Judge Sewall's life abounded in recreation. There is no point where he has been more misjudged and misrepresented. It is easy to gain credit for brightness by saying that his principal amusement was attending funerals and the Thursday lecture, which was of a religious character. A recent writer affirms of that era, "the social life was bare and spiritless beyond the possibility of description,"[1] and then cites Sewall as a principal witness. The narrowness is in the vision of his critics, not in his life. Certainly there are no gallantries in the record as in that of Pepys, to whom Mr. Lodge compares him—better call him a New England Evelyn. He and Evelyn were contemporaries and of like spirit; certainly, also, he neither patronized nor hankered for the theatre and the ball-room and the card-table, as certainly he delighted in the Thursday lecture, which helped his soul to

> "rise from transitory things
> Toward heaven its native place";

but his range of pleasures was broad—surprisingly broad. He visited travelling shows. He preserved the handbill advertisement of a dwarf "for largeness and shortness exceeding all that ever came from beyond sea," and endorsed it—"June 3, 1689 Saw her." And this is not the only record of the sort. He bathed, swam, competed in target-shooting, and even rolled nine-pins. He went to "raisings." Young people do not know the technical meaning of the term, but the custom still lingered in the region of Newbury during my boyhood, and I can speak from experience of its delights. When the frame of a building had been made ready by the carpenters, on an appointed day the men and boys from miles around would assemble and erect it. There would be a simple lunch of crackers and cheese and salt fish with cider as much as one pleased. Universal good cheer reigned.

[1] Weeden, 295.

He went picnicking with his family and his friends. He loved a good dinner, and ate one very often, and accompanied the food with a variety of liquors, although had he lived now he would probably have been a total abstainer. He loved to entertain his friends at his bountiful board; he also ate and drank with them at famous old hostelries like the Blue Anchor and the Royal Exchange, both on what is now Washington Street. These gatherings sometimes brought him into strange associations. September 28, 1688, after lecture he "went on board the Duke's Yott with Major Richards, Capt. Phillips, Mr. Cotton Mather, Madam Phipps, Richards, Shrimpton Kelland: Had Sturgeon Wine Punch Music." Shrimpton was a roystering fellow[1]; think of him sandwiched in between Sewall and Cotton Mather at the punch-bowl on "the Duke's Yott!"

Sewall travelled largely from place to place, and if he lacked the luxuries of travel in these times, the new country and even the primitive conveyances must have yielded pleasures that more than counterbalanced. Think of the exhilaration of a horseback journey through primeval forests and new clearings from Boston to York, Maine, by way of Haverhill! He had in his farming a delightful avocation by way of diversion from his judicial vocation. He was passionately fond of books.[2] I find no allusion in his writings to Shakespeare, nor even to Milton, but Ovid, that I never read a line of in academy or college, was his familiar friend. Has not enough been mentioned to show that his life was the opposite to "bare and spiritless"?

He was magnanimous. While he often and persistently opposed the royal governors, he always maintained friendly relations with them. Although he repeatedly felt aggrieved by the impetuous Cotton Mather, and once at least labored with him according to the rule "in the mouth of two or three witnesses,"[3] he reverently cherished his friendship to the end.

[1] *Sewall Papers*, i., 112, bound for a man who tried to open a dancing school; 120, sent to prison for contempt of government; 151, bound over for "Friday night Revel."

[2] See page 28 of this paper.

[3] *Sewall Papers*, ii., 44.

He was open to new light. After expostulating with the noble Benjamin Colman for what Sewall deemed his errors as to church government and services, he told him "if God should please by them to hold forth any light that had not been seen or entertained before, I should be so far from envying it that I should rejoice in it, which," he adds, "he was much affected with." [1]

It has incidentally and unavoidably appeared in this sketch that Judge Sewall was sincerely and profoundly religious, but his piety was so central in his character that it calls for special consideration. No event was too trivial to suggest to him pious reflections. He wrote under date of December 22, 1727: "But when I came to my own Gate, going in, I fell down. A board slipping under my Left foot, my right Legg raised off the skin, and put me to a great deal of pain, especially when twas washed with Rum. It was good for me that I was thus afflicted, that my spirit might be brought into a frame more suitable to the Solemnity"—he was returning from a funeral—"which is apt to be too light: and by the loss of some of my Skin and blood I might be awakened to prepare for my own Dissolution." He was a man of prayer. May 1, 1690, being then a little over thirty-eight years old, he wrote: "Rose before the sun some considerable time that might ease my burdened mind in prayer." March 31, 1714, he writes: *Ædem intravi* (I went into the temple). This entry illustrates his custom when away from home on his birthday, or as near to it as possible, to go into the meeting-house of the place for secret prayer. We have a full record of one of his private fast-days. The record is doubly interesting because it shows how devout souls were wont to hallow such seasons in that period. I therefore give large extracts from the entry:

"The Appointment of a Judge of the Super. Court being to be made upon next Fifth day Feb. 12, I prayed God to Accept me in Keeping a private day of Prayer with Fasting for That and other Important Matters. I kept it upon the Third day Feb 10 170$\frac{4}{5}$ in the upper chamber at the North-

[1] *Sewall Papers*, i., 507.

East end of the House, fastening the Shutters next the Street. Perfect what is lacking in my Faith and the faith of my dear yokefellow. Convert my children especially Samuel and Hañah: Provide Rest and Settlement for Hannah: Recover Mary, save Judith, Elisabeth and Joseph: Requite the Labour of Love of my Kinswoman Jane Tappin, Give her health, find out Rest for her. Make David a man after thy own heart. Let Susan live and be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Relations, steer the Government in this difficult time, when the Governor and many others are so much at Variance: Direct, incline overrule on the Council-day, fifth day, Febr. 12 as to the special work of it in filling the Super. Court with Justices: or any other things of like nature; as Plim.° infer Court. Bless the Company for propagation of the Gospel.[1] . . . Revive the Business of Religion at Natick, and accept and bless John Neesnumin who went thither last week for that end. . . . Bless the South Church. . . . Save the Town, College, Province. . . . Defend the purity of worship. Save Connecticut. . . . Reform all the European Plantations in America; Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Dutch; Save this New World . . . that Christ who is stronger would bind the strong man and spoil his house; and order the Word to be given Babylon is fallen. . . . Save our Queen. . . . Save France. . . . Save all Europe; Save Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. These were gen[l] heads of my meditation and prayer: and through the bounteous Grace of God, I had a very comfortable day of it. The reading of Mr. Tho Horton's Sermon . . . was a great furtherance of me."

The fact deserves emphasis that this pious man was a judge—a man in public life. In the Hebrew commonwealth kings as well as priests were anointed with holy oil, and the apostle teaches that civil rulers are to be "the ministers of God." Sewall's character corresponded to the biblical pattern. If our public men would read his life it would remind them of their high dignity and responsibility as the representatives of Him who is "over all." The record of that fast-day also reminds us that any prayerful soul though not, like Sewall, in prominent position, may, if it please God, be a power in public affairs through the closet.

[1] Amongst the Indians.

Dr. Ellis, whose recent death is so great a loss to historical research, says: "The deepest impression made upon me in the pleasant use of the leisure of five years in the editing and annotating of the Judge's Journal, was that of the profound and consistent devoutness of his spirit, and the tender affectionateness of his nature."[1] I would endorse that tribute.

September 16, 1713, was a great day for Judge Sewall's church, and most of all for the Judge himself. On that day his son Joseph was ordained as colleague to Rev. Mr. Pemberton. I give extracts from the journal:

"Began a little after Ten m. Dr. Cotton Mather begun with Prayer. Excellently, concluded about the ringing for eleven"—so the opening prayer was nearly an hour long.—"My son preached. . . . Was a very great Assembly. . . . Twelve Ministers sat at the Table by the Pulpit. Mr. Pemberton made an August Speech Shewing the Validity and Antiquity of New English Ordinations . . . . ask'd as Customary, if any had to say against the ordaining the person. Took the Churches Handy vote; Church sat in the Gallery"—the laying on of hands followed. "Then Mr. Pemberton Pray'd. Ordained and gave the Charge Excellently. Then Dr. Increase Mather made a notable Speech, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and pray'd. Mr. Pemberton directed the three and Twentieth Psalm to be sung," —and the new pastor gave the benediction.—"The chief Entertainment was at Mr. Pemberton's; but was considerable elsewhere, Two Tables at our House."

The Judge found great comfort in the ministrations and society of his son. His character was beautiful, like that of Joseph of old; it is reflected in his portrait. He was scholarly, wise, affectionate, devout, as true a friend to the despised races as his father. After recording in his diary the ordination of a pastor over a little church in Natick that was part English and part Indian, he adds: "Turn the poor Indian from darkness to light. O when shall the time to favor them come." Another extract will show his quality as pastor and also that of his church. The question had

[1] Address on Samuel Sewall.

come up, What shall be required of candidates for admission? The pastor prayed for light, and the result was a harmonious agreement as follows:

"That such as come into full communion"—the Old South was from the beginning a "half-way covenant" church—"should make a public profession of their repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of their belief of the Scriptures as a perfect rule of Faith and Life and of their resolution by the grace of God to walk according to them."[1]

In 1718 Mr. Thomas Prince, young Sewall's classmate in Harvard, was ordained as his colleague. The father closes his account of the ordination by saying: "Entertainment was at Mr. Sewall's, which was very plentiful and splendid."

Mr. Hill says: "No other ordination was to take place there for over forty years; the joint pastorate was perhaps the most brilliant epoch in the history of the church." I have dwelt thus much upon the character and services of Joseph Sewall because such a son is a monument to the excellence of the parental training and example.

Judge Sewall, as you may be relieved to learn, was not without a share in the weaknesses of his age and of humanity. He would never write Wednesday or Thursday, or the like, lest he should recognise the false gods of our ancestors, but wrote fourth day, fifth day, and so on. He delighted to see the shops open and the teams coming into town on Christmas day. He denounced the Quaker meeting as 'devil-worship," although such an entry as the following should be borne in mind in this connection:

"July 8, 1677 . . . In Sermon time there came in a female Quaker, in a Canvas Frock, her hair dishevelled and loose like a Periwigg, her face as black as ink, led by two other Quakers, and two others followed. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw."

The intrusion is said to have so affrighted "some females as to lead to serious consequences for them."[2]

[1] Hill, *History of Old South Church*, i., 435.

[2] Ellis, *Puritan Age in Massachusetts*, 488.

He labored untiringly with those who were guilty of wearing wigs, or, as he termed them, "Periwiggs." He detested April Fool's Day. He wrote April 1, 1719:

"In the morning I dehorted Sam. Hirst [his grandson] for playing Idle Tricks, because 't was first of April."

At another time,[1] he wrote to two Boston schoolmasters to have them "take off" their pupils from such "sinful vanities." In this letter he says:

"I have heard a child of Six years old say within these 2 or 3 days, that one must tell a man his shoes were unbuckled, (when they were indeed buckled) and then he would stoop down to buckle them; and then he was an April Fool."

He writes so earnestly that one suspects the good Judge spoke from mortifying experience.

The Judge's famous courtships may fittingly be mentioned in connection with his weaknesses.

He was bereaved of his wife October 19, 1617. "A most constant Lover, a laborious Nurse for 42 years,"[2] he terms her. His writings show that he fully reciprocated her devotion, and was overwhelmed with grief at her death; yet two months and seventeen days after, we find him querying whether to live married or single, and four months later we find him assiduously "courting" Mrs. Dennison, who had been a widow but two months and eighteen days when he began his attentions.

What shall we say to all this? Perhaps there was something of weakness in it, judges are but human; moreover, the bereaved man was now growing old—he was turned sixty-six,—and his lonely heart longed for companionship; most of all, all his friends seem to have been interested to remarry him as soon as possible—amongst them a Deacon Marion, and the Governor of the Province, and even the grave Dr. Mather. The only person that I find who had

[1] April 1, 1708.

[2] *Letter-Book*, ii., 79.

any scruples is the Judge himself, who objected to Deacon Marion that his wife had been dead so short a time.

He and the widow Dennison could not agree about the marriage settlement, and so they did not marry. He writes: "My bowels yearn towards Mrs. Dennison, but I think God directed me in his Providence to desist," and Mrs. Dennison's stealthy visit to his house one Lord's Day evening, "in the bitter cold, no moon being up," indicated that the yearning was mutual.

In 1719 he married the widow Tilley, but was again left a widower within seven months. Following this he was an unsuccessful suitor for more than one of the goodly widows with which Boston seems to have abounded at that time, and to whom his wooings seem to have been restricted.

He has been accused of mercenary higgling about marriage settlements.[1] I have read the whole record with some care, and I do not form such an opinion. A careful marriage settlement was the custom of those days, and the New England Puritan of either sex was provident for the future.

I find nothing more than this in the bargaining of Sewall and the widows of his suit. In every case he proposed to provide for his wife should she outlive him.

It is most of all astonishing to find Mr. Lodge making Sewall's courtship the ground for a charge of sensualism, or rather it would be astonishing were it not the same writer who terms him "a Puritan Pepys." It is true that he asked Madam Winthrop's leave to withdraw her glove, because "'t was great odds between handling a dead Goat and a living Lady," and that he told her that "her kisses were sweeter to him than the best Canary" (wine).

What of it? It was a mark of weakness, possibly, but he was sixty-eight and she was fifty-six, and he was in love, dead in love, if you please. If there was ever a pure man it was Samuel Sewall. When Madam Winthrop, who seems to have taken the initiative in attentions,[2]

[1] Alice Morse Earle in *Customs and Fashions in Old New England.* Lodge, *Studies in History.*

[2] Ellis, *Address on Samuel Sewall.*

at length rejected him, he wrote in his diary, "Jehovah Jireh" (the Lord will provide), and the Lord did provide the widow Gibbs in 1722, and she was a loving nurse to his declining years.

Judge Sewall's old age was spent in a different era from that of his youth. The primitive simplicity with which he had been familiar in his early days in Newbury had passed away.

Despite severe wars with the French and Indians, unfriendly legislation in England, and economic blunders at home, Boston had grown. In place of the 6,000 of Sewall's youth, and the 9,000 of his middle life, it now had over 18,000 people. Business had grown correspondingly. Had Emerson lived then he might have sung of it as he did in our own day:

> "O happy town beside the sea
> Whose roads lead everywhere to all."

Increasing intercourse and means brought new comforts, growing refinement, and even the beginnings of luxury. The well-to-do Bostonian now began to take a newspaper and to drink coffee, and his good wife sipped tea. The potato now and then appeared on the table, and forks facilitated eating. Here and there a family drove out in summer in a coach, and in winter in a "slay." Thomas Amory, who was a very successful Boston merchant of that time, wrote of the town: "People live handsomely here, and without fear of anything."[1] And in another place he described it as "a fine place and a noble country of great trade and good conversation." Amory's standard would be a high one. Educated in the famous Westminster school of London, he was familiar with life in the Azores, Portugal, Holland, and England. Some noted buildings remain to attest the solid prosperity of the era; such are the Old Corner Bookstore, built probably in 1712; the old State House, built in 1714, where the provincial governors held court, and where the Declaration of Independence was read, and whose floor was trodden by

[1] Weeden, 565.

Washington and Lafayette; there is also Christ Church, built in 1723, where the lanterns were hung out according to the preconcerted signal:

"One, if by land, and two, if by sea."

More liberal views were gaining ground as to public worship. Singing by note was tolerated, and the reading of the Scriptures without comment was practised in many congregations, and no longer branded as dumb reading. With all these marks of progress there is reason to believe that Sewall sympathized, but there was another agency at work whose results were very trying to him. Massachusetts was now in close official connection with the crown. Under the new charter her governors were appointed in England, and they brought with them, even when they had been born in America, the English church and largely English court life. When the judge wrote: "Tuesday night Jan. 17 (1717–8). The Govr. has a Ball at his own House that lasts till 3 in the Morn."—he added no comment, and none was needed to show how it must have grieved him.

In the new era as in the old, in old age as in youth, Sewall kept his pure and kind and heavenward way which was now nearing home. As in the case of every old man his early friends were growing few, but his spirit was sunny. Mar. 6, 1728–9, when he was almost seventy-seven, he wrote a delightful letter to one of the Mathers.[1]

It has a little of the repetitiousness of age, but it gives pleasant reminiscences of his long past youth. He says, for instance, of another Mather, "we boarded together"—that is while in college—"at Fessenden's, where I have seen his Grand Father Mather bring a load of grain to pay for his board." The letter is especially interesting because it shows the writer's cheerful view of death. In his earlier years he had been inclined to regard it as a mark of divine displeasure toward surviving friends, but all that misconception had vanished. He says that one friend "went well home," a

[1] *Letter-Book*, ii., 263.

little before, and that another "is also got to heaven," and he closes "Desiring Prayers that to live unto me may be Christ and to die gain.

In the last year of his life his *Letter-Book*[1] shows that he was importing primroses and inquiring the cost of a pair of nightingales in London. The primrose and the nightingale! the flower that blooms and the bird that sings at the close of the day, how beautifully appropriate to the life that was nearing its bright sunset.

He had "about a month's languishment," at the close of 1729. On December 26th, he repeated the Creed again and again to his son Joseph, and offered the Lord's Prayer, and quoted the passage: "If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous." It is interesting to see that the staunch Puritan found comfort in the most ancient uninspired symbol of the common Christian faith. When his son asked him what he should pray for in his behalf, he replied, "that I might follow the Captain of my salvation." Three days later, when his son read to him John xi., 23–27, that records the conversation of our Lord with Martha just before the raising of Lazarus, he remarked "We are much beholden to Martha."[2]

On the first day of January, 1730, at half-past five in the morning, as the tardy winter dawn was creeping up the east to announce the New Year, the day broke and the shadows fled away for him, and he entered upon a glad new year in that "house not made with hands," of which he had had so refreshing anticipations upon his bed in Mr. Harvard's house, one winter night so long before.

A plain, horizontal slab marks his sleeping-place in the old Granary burying-ground, west of Tremont Street, in Boston. It is in the shadow of Park Street Church, amid green grass and under lofty trees, and thickly surrounded by the memorial stones of governors and ministers, and many goodly men and women of his day.

[1] *Letter-Book*, ii., 261.

[2] This account of his last days is chiefly taken from Hill, *History of Old South Church*.

He lived on in his descendants. These include such well-known names as William Cooper, Boston's famous town clerk of Revolutionary days; Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall, the younger; Miss Louisa M. Alcott, and Gen. Fitz-John Porter. Many others of them though less widely known have in their "own generation served the counsel of God," while many still live to bless the world.

He also lives in his character. Gentle yet firm, attached to the old truth but open to new light, rebuking his offending brother, but cherishing no resentment, of ample fortune but using it as a generous steward, adding honor to his honorable public position, a lover of learning, and yet a lover of the ignorant Indian and negro, testifying against the evils of his time, but never falling out of sympathy with it, active in his generation, yet walking with God—we may apply to him his own favorite encomium upon a friend, and term him a lover of the first ways of New England, or, as we think how he withstood governors on the one hand and the people on the other from time to time, we may quote from his beloved classics:

> "Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni,
> Mente quatit solida."

Or, as we look at his portrait, we may, as more than one has already done, recall the tribute of the Quaker poet to him —albeit he had so small appreciation of that class of Christians:

> "The face that a child would climb to kiss,
> True and tender and brave and just,
> That man might honor and woman trust."

Or most fittingly of all, his character and career suggest the words of his own most loved and revered book: "The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

We judge a tree by its best fruit: according to this rule, the stock that founded the Massachusetts colony was of the noblest quality, for Samuel Sewall was a typical Massachusetts Puritan.

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Creighton, Rt. Rev. Mandell, LL.D. (*hon.* Glasgow, 1884; Harvard, 1886), D.C.L. (Durham, 1885), D.D. (Oxford, 1891), Bishop of Peterborough, England.

Harnack, Adolph, Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1873), Lic. Theol. (Leipzig, 1874), D.D. (*hon.* Marburg, 1879), Professor of Church History, Berlin, Germany.

Mitchell, Rev. Alexander Ferrier, D.D. (St. Andrews, 1862), LL.D. (Glasgow, 1892), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Andrews, Scotland.

Nippold, Friedrich, D.D. (Leiden, 1870), Professor of Church History, Jena, Germany.

Schickler, Baron Fernand de, President of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris, France.

Wace, Rev. Henry, D.D. (Oxford, 1883; Edinburgh, 1882), Principal of King's College, London, Eng.

Weizsäcker, Rev. Carl Heinrich von, Ph.D. (Tübingen, 1842), D.D., (*hon.* Tübingen, 1862), Professor of Church History, Tübingen, Germany.

Total 9

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Abbott, Rev. Lyman, Congregationalist, D.D. (University of the City of New York, 1877), Editor of *The Outlook*, New York City.

*Adams, Henry, Quincy, Massachusetts.

Albree, Joseph, Allegheny, Pa.

Allen, Rev. Joseph Henry, Unitarian, D.D. (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1891), Cambridge, Mass.

Appel, Rev. Thomas Gilmore, Ph.D. (Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., 1866), D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., 1868), LL.D. (Lafayette College, 1885), Professor of Church History [Reformed (German)], Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa.

Bacon, Rev. Leonard Woolsey, Congregationalist, M.D., D.D. (both Yale College, New Haven, Conn. 1856, and 1879, respectively), Norwich, Conn.

Bagley, Burton Dillon, President of

* Life Member.

the Christian Literature Company, New York City.

Baird, Rev. Henry Martyn, Presbyterian, Ph.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1867), D.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1877), LL.D. (College of New Jersey, 1882), Professor of Greek, University of the City of New York.

Baldwin, Rev. Charles Winterfield, Pastor of Wesley (Methodist) Chapel, Washington, D. C.

Baldwin, Rev. Ralph Howard, Episcopalian, New York City.

Bartlett, Rev. Edward Totterson, S.T.D. (University of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa., 1887), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Dean, of the P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bassett, Rev. Austin Bradley, Pastor of the East Congregational Church, Ware, Mass.

Beiler, Rev. Samuel Lynch, Methodist Episcopal, Ph.D. (Boston University, Boston, Mass., 1891 : University of the City of New York, 1891), Vice-Chancellor of the American University, Washington, D. C.

Berger, Rev. Daniel, United Brethren in Christ, D.D. (Westfield College, Westfield, Ill., 1878), editor of the Sunday-school literature of the United Brethren Publishing House, Dayton, Ohio.

Blatchford, Eliphalet Wickes, Chicago, Ill.

Booth, Rev. Henry Matthias, Presbyterian, D.D., LL.D. (both Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., 1880, and 1894, respectively), President of the Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.

Bowen, Rev. John Wesley Edward, Ph.D. (Boston University, Boston, Mass., 1887), D.D. (Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., 1892), Professor of Historical Theology, Gammon Theological Seminary (Methodist Episcopal), Atlanta, Ga.

Bowler, William, Cleveland, O.

Brown, Rev. Arthur Judson, D.D. (Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill., 1891), one of the secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, New York City.

Brown, Rev. Francis, Ph.D. (Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., 1884), D.D. (Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., 1884 ; Yale College, New Haven, Conn. 1894.) Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages, Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), New York City.

Buckley, Rev. James Munroe, D.D. (Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn., 1876), LL.D. (Emory and Henry College, Emory, Wash. Co., Va., 1882), Editor of *The Christian Advocate* (Methodist Episcopal), New York City.

Burr, George Lincoln, Professor of Ancient and Mediæval History, and Librarian of the White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Burrage, Rev. Henry Sweetser, D.D. (Brown University, Providence, R. I., 1883), Editor of *Zion's Advocate* (Baptist), Portland, Maine.

Burrell, Rev. David James, D.D. (Parson's College, Fairfield, Ia., 1883), one of the pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York City.

Byington, Rev. Ezra Hoyt, Congregationalist, D.D. (University of Vermont, Burlington, 1890), Newton, Mass.

Carroll, Rev. Henry King, Methodist Episcopal, LL.D. (Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., 1885), religious editor of *The Independent*, New York City.

Chambers, Rev. Talbot Wilson, S.T.D. (Columbia College, N. Y. City, 1853), LL.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1885), senior minister of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York City.

Christie, Rev. Francis Albert, Professor of Church History, Meadville (Unitarian) Theological School, Meadville, Pa.

Coe, Rev. Edward Benton, D.D., LL.D. (both Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1881 and 1893, respectively), one of the pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York City.

Corwin, Rev. Edward Tanjore, Reformed (Dutch), D.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1871), Pastor of Church, Greenport, N. Y.

Craig, Rev. Willis Green, D.D. (Centre College, Danville, Ky., 1873), LL.D. (Greenville and Tusculum College, Tusculum, Tenn., 1888), Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, McCormick Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

Cramer, Rev. Michael John, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y., 1873), LL.D. (Taylor University, Upland, Grant Co., Indiana, 1895) East Orange, N. J.

Craven, Rev. Elijah Richardson, D.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1859), LL.D. (Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., 1889), Secretary of the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church, Phila.

Crawford, Rev. William Henry, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 1893), President of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

Crooks, Rev. George Richard, D.D. LL.D. (both Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., 1857 and 1869, respectively), Professor of Church History, Drew Theological (Methodist Episcopal) Seminary, Madison, N. J.

Davidson, Thomas, New York City.

DeWitt, Rev. John, D.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1877), LL.D. (Hanover College, Ind., 1888) Professor of Church History, Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Princeton, N. J.

Dexter, Rev. Morton, Editor of *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.

Dickinson, Rev. Cornelius Evarts, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Marietta, O.

Dodge, William Earl, New York City.

Dorchester, Rev. Daniel, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 1874), Melrose, Mass.

*Douglass, Hon. Frederick, Washington, D. C.

Drury, Rev. John Benjamin, D.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1880), Editor of *The Christian Intelligencer*, Reformed (Dutch), New York City.

Dubbs, Rev. Joseph Henry, Reformed (German), D.D. (Ursinus College, Freeland, Collegeville P. O., Pa., 1878), Professor of History and Archæology, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

Dulles, Rev. Joseph Heatly, Presbyterian, Librarian of Princeton Theological Seminary, N. J.

Eddy, Rev. Richard, Universalist, S.T.D. (Tufts College, College Hill, Mass., 1883), East Providence, R. I.

Elliott, Rev. George, D.D., Methodist Episcopal Pastor, Philadelphia, Pa.

Emerton, Ephraim, Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1876), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Ewell, Rev. John Lewis, Congregationalist, Professor of Historical Theology and Dean of the Theological Department, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Faulkner, Rev. John Alfred, Pastor of the Allen Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Binghamton, N. Y.

Ferree, Barr, New York City.

Fisher, Rev. George Park, Congregationalist, D.D. (Brown University Providence, R. I., 1866; Edinburgh University, Scotland, 1886; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1886), LL.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1879), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Foote, Rev. Lewis Ray, D.D. (Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., 1889), Pastor of the Throop Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Forrester, Rev. Henry, Episcopalian, City of Mexico, Mexico.

Fox, Rev. John, D.D. (Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., 1891), Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

†Fox, Rev. Louis Rodman, Presbyterian, Philadelphia, Pa.

Frazer, Abner Lord, Duluth, Minn.

Gates, Rev. Caleb Frank, Congregationalist, Harpoot, Turkey.

Good, Rev. James Isaac, D.D. (Ursinus College, Freeland, Collegeville P. O., Pa., 1887), Professor of Church History [Reformed (Ger-

* Died at Anacostia Heights, near Washington, D. C., Wed., Feb. 20, 1895.

† Died in Philadelphia, Friday, Dec. 21, 1894.

man)], Theological Seminary of Ursinus College, and Pastor in Reading, Pa.

Gordon, Rev. John, D.D. (Western Univ. of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1889), Professor of Church History, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Omaha, Neb.

Grammer, Rev. Carl Eckhardt, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law, Theological Seminary, (P. E.), Va.

Haas, Rev. John Augustus William, Pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, New York City.

* Hagerman, James John, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Hamilton, Rev. John Taylor, Professor of Church History, Moravian Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.

Hamilton, Rev. William Ferguson, Presbyterian, D.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., 1880), Washington, Pa.

Hamlin, Rev. Teunis Slingerland, D.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1886), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Covenant, Washington, D. C.

Hamma, Rev. Michael Wolf, Lutheran, D.D. (Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, 1876), Washington, D. C.

Hartranft, Rev. Chester David, D.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1876), President of Theological Seminary (Congregational), Hartford, Conn.

Hoes, Rev. Roswell Randall, Presbyterian, Chaplain U. S. Navy.

Hopkins, Rev. Theodore Weld, Auburn, N. Y.

Hoppin, Rev. James Mason, Congregationalist, D.D. (Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., 1870), Professor of the History of Art, Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

Horn, Rev. Edward Traill, D.D. (Roanoke College, Salem, Va., and Newberry College, Newberry, S. C., both 1888), Pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, Charleston, S. C.

Horr, Rev. George Edwin, Jr., Editor of *The Watchman* (Baptist), Boston, Mass.

Hubbard, Hon. Gardiner Greene, LL.D. (Columbian University, Washington, D. C., 1888), Washington, D. C.

Hulbert, Rev. Eri Baker, Baptist, D.D. (Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Morgan Park, Ill., 1880), Professor of Church History, University of Chicago, Ill.

Hulbert, Rev. Henry Woodward, Presbyterian, Professor of Church History, Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O.

Hull, Rev. William, Lutheran, Albany, N. Y.

Hurst, Rev. John Fletcher, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, D.D., LL.D. (both Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., 1866 and 1877, respectively), Washington, D. C.

Jackson, Rev. George Anson, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Swampscott, Mass.

* Jackson, Rev. Samuel Macauley, Presbyterian, LL.D. (Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., 1892), D.D. (University of the City of New York, 1893), New York City.

Jackson, Rev. Sheldon, Presbyterian, D.D. (Hanover College, Hanover, Ind., 1874), United States General Agent of Education for Alaska, *Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Alaska Division*, Washington, D. C.

Jacobs, Rev. Henry Eyster, D.D. LL.D. (both Thiel College, Greenville, Pa., 1877 and 1891, respectively), Professor of Systematic Theology, Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

Johnson, Rev. Thomas Cary, D.D. (Hampden Sidney College, Va., 1891), Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Hampden Sidney, Va.

Jones, Rev. Hosea Williams, D.D. (Kenyon College, Gambier, O., 1884), Dean and Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of Kenyon College (P.E.), Gambier, O.

Krotel, Rev. Gottlob Frederick, D.D. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1865), LL.D. (Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., 1888), Pastor of Lutheran (General Council) Holy Trinity Church, New York City.

Laidlaw, Rev. Walter, Presbyterian, New York City.

* Life Member.

Lampe, Rev. Joseph Joachim, D.D. (Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., 1889), Ph.D. (University of the City of N. Y., 1890), Pastor of Christ Presbyterian Church, New York City.

Lasby, Rev. Charles Crowther, Methodist Episcopal, Pastor in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Lasher, Rev. George William, Baptist, D.D. (Madison University, Hamilton, N.Y., 1874), Editor of the *Journal and Messenger*, Cincinnati, O.

*Lea, Henry Charles, LL.D. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1868; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1890), Philadelphia, Pa.

*Learned, Rev. Dwight Whitney, Congregationalist, Ph.D. (Yale College, New Haven, Conn., 1873), Kioto, Japan.

Leavens, Rev. Philo French, D.D. (University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., 1888), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Passaic, N. J.

Lewis, Rev. Abram Herbert, D.D. (Alfred University, Alfred Centre, N. Y., 1881), Pastor of the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, Plainfield, N. J.

Lowrey, Rev. Asbury, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Asbury University, Greencastle, Ind., 1864), Editor of *Divine Life and Bible Expositor*, New York City.

Ludlow, Rev. James Meeker, D.D. (Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., 1872), Litt.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1888), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.

McConnell, Rev. Samuel D., D.D. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1887), Rector of St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

*McCook, John James, LL.D. (University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1890, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., 1893), New York City.

MacCracken, Rev. Henry Mitchell, Presbyterian, D.D. (Wittenberg College, Springfield, O., 1877), LL.D. (Miami University, Oxford, O., 1887), Chancellor of the University of the City of New York.

McGiffert, Rev. Arthur Cushman, Ph.D. (Marburg, Germany, 1888), D.D. (Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Adelbert, O., 1892), Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), New York City.

McIlvain, Rev. James William, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Annapolis, Md.

Mackay-Smith, Alexander, D.D. (Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 1889), S. T. D. (Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., 1889), Rector of St. John's P. E. Church, Washington, D. C.

McKim, Rev. Randolph Harrison, D.D. (Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., 1871), Rector of the P. E. Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C.

McLanahan, George William, Washington, D. C.

Mathews, Shailer, Baptist, Associate Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Miller, Rev. William Sydney, Pastor of the Gurley Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

Mitchell, Edwin Knox, D.D. (Marietta College, Marietta, O., 1892), Professor of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History, Theological Seminary (Congregational), Hartford, Conn.

Morrow, Rev. James, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Anita College, Anita, Ala., 1882) Secretary of the American Bible Society for the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Munro, Dana Carleton, Professor of Roman and Mediæval History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Newman, Rev. Albert Henry, Baptist, D.D. (Mercer University, Macon, Ga., 1885), LL.D. (Southwestern Baptist University, Jackson, Tenn., 1883), Professor of Church History and Comparative Religion, McMaster University, Toronto, Canada.

Nicum, Rev. John, D.D. (Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., 1893), Pastor of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Rochester, N. Y.

Norcross, Rev. George, D.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton,

* Life Member.

N. J., 1879), Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa.

O'Gorman, Rev. Thomas, Roman Catholic, D.D. (by Pope Leo XIII., 1891), Professor of Modern Church History, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Paine, Rev. Levi Leonard, D.D. (Yale College, New Haven, Conn., 1875), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, (Congregational) Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me.

Pellew, Hon. Henry Edward, Washington, D. C.

Perry, Rt. Rev. William Stevens, S.T.D. (Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 1869), D.D. (Oxford University, Eng., 1888), LL.D. (William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., 1876), D.C.L. (University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Can., 1885; King's College University, Windsor, N. S., 1887), Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Iowa, Davenport, Ia.

Pollard, Rev. Edward Bagby, Baptist, Ph.D. (Yale College, New Haven, Conn., 1893), Roanoke, Va.

Potter, Rt. Rev. Henry Codman, D.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1865; Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 1883; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1890; Oxford University, 1892), LL.D. (Union, 1881; Cambridge University, Eng., 1888), Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York, New York City.

Power, Rev. Frederick Dunglison, Pastor of the Vermont Avenue Christian Church (Disciples), Washington, D. C.

Prentiss, Rev. George Lewis, D.D. (Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., 1854), Professor of Pastoral Theology, Church Polity, and Mission Work (Presbyterian), Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Prime, Rev. Wendell, Presbyterian, D.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1880), Editor of *The New York Observer*, New York City.

Prugh, Rev. John Hassler, Pastor of Grace Reformed (German) Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Purves, Rev. George Tybout, D.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., 1888), Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Princeton, N. J.

Rankin, Rev. Isaac Ogden, Presbyterian, Peekskill, N. Y.

Rankin, Rev. Jeremiah Eames, Congregationalist, D.D., LL.D. (both Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt., 1869 and 1889, respectively), President of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Reed, Rev. George Edward, Methodist Episcopal, D.D. (Wesleyan University, Middletown, Mass., 1886), LL.D. (Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., 1889), President of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.

*Rhoads, James E., M.D. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1851), LL.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1890), Professor of Ethics, Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

Richard, Rev. James William, D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., 1866), Professor of Homiletics, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Richardson, Rev. Ernest Cushing, Ph.D. (Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1883), Librarian of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.

Riggs, Rev. James Forsyth, D.D. (Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., 1892), Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Theological Seminary (Reformed Dutch), New Brunswick, N. J.

Roberts, Rev. William Henry, Presbyterian, D.D. (Western University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1883), LL.D. (Miami University, Oxford, O., 1888), Philadelphia, Pa.

Rogers, Rev. Edwin Everett, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Zanesville, O.

Rogers, Rev. James William, Pastor of the Disciple Church, Walton, Kentucky.

Rossiter, Rev. Stealy Bales, D.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1886), Pastor of the North Presbyterian Church, New York City.

Ruston, Rev. William Otis, D.D. (Lenox College, Hopkinton, Ia.,

*Died at Bryn Mawr, Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1895.

1886), Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Dubuque, Iowa.

Schaff, Rev. David Schley, D.D. (Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., 1891), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville, Ill.

Schell, Rev. Edwin Allison, Methodist Episcopal, Ph.D. (Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill., 1890), D.D. (Hedding College, Abington, Ill., 1893), Secretary of the Epworth League, Chicago, Ill.

Scott, Rev. George Robert White, Congregationalist, D.D. (Middlebury College, Vt., Olivet College, Mich., both, 1884), Leominster, Mass.

Scott, Rev. Hugh McDonald, D.D. (Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., 1886), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Congregational Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Seip, Rev. Theodore Lorenzo, Lutheran, D.D. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1886), President of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

Seiss, Rev. Josephus Augustus, D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., 1860), LL.D. (Roanoke College, Salem, Va., 1874), Pastor of the Holy Communion (Lutheran) Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

Shahan, Rev. Thomas Joseph, Roman Catholic, D.D. (College of the Propaganda, Rome, 1882), Professor of Ancient Church History, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Sheeleigh, Rev. Matthias, Lutheran, D.D. (Newberry College, Newberry, S. C., 1885), Fort Washington, Pa.

Sheldon, Rev. Henry Clay, Methodist Episcopal, D.D., (Lawrence University, Lawrence, Wis., 1887), Professor of Historical Theology, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

Sheraton, Rev. James Paterson, D.D. (Queen's University, Ontario, Canada, 1882), Principal of Wycliffe College (Church of England), Toronto, Canada.

Shiells, Robert, Neenah, Wisconsin.

Show, Rev. Arley Barthlow, Associate Professor of European History, in Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.

Small, Rev. Charles Herbert, Pastor of Congregational Church, Hudson, O.

Smith, Rev. Jonathan Ritchie, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Peekskill, N. Y.

Smith, Rev. Judson, Congregationalist, D.D. (Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., 1877), Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass.

Smith, Thomas Edward Vermilye, New York City.

Smyth, Rev. Egbert Coffin, D.D. (Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., 1866, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1886), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Theological Seminary (Congregational), Andover, Mass.

Spaeth, Rev. Adolph, D.D. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1875), New York Professor in Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

Spieker, Rev. George Frederick, D.D. (Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1887), Professor of Church History, Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

Stakely, Rev. Charles Averette, D.D. (Richmond College, Richmond, Va., 1889), Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.

Steele, Rev. James Dallas, Ph.D. (University of Omaha, Neb., 1892), Pastor of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, New York City.

Stevenson, Rev. Joseph Ross, Presbyterian, Adjunct Professor of Ecclesiastical History, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

Storrs, Rev. Richard Salter, D.D. (Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., 1853, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., 1859), LL.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1874), L.H.D. (Columbia College, New York City, 1887), Pastor of the Church of the Puritans (Congregational), Brooklyn, N. Y.

Stuart, Rev. Charles Macaulay, B.D. (Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., 1883), Associate Editor of *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (M. E.), Chicago.

Tadlock, Rev. James Doak, D.D. (Hampden Sidney College, Va.,

1876), LL.D. (King College, Tenn., 1891), Professor of Church History, Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Columbia, S. C.

Taylor, Rev. William Irving, Pastor Methodist Episcopal Church, Athens, Colorado.

Terry, Rev. Roderick, D.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1882), Pastor of the South Reformed (Dutch) Church, New York City.

Thatcher, Rev. Oliver Joseph, Associate Professor of Mediæval History, University of Chicago, Ill.

Thomas, Allen Clapp, Professor of History, Haverford College, Pa.

Thomas, Richard Henry, M.D. (University of Maryland, Baltimore, Md., 1875), Baltimore, Maryland.

Tiffany, Rev. Charles Comfort, Episcopalian, D.D. (Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., 1884), Archdeacon of New York, New York City.

Tigert, Rev. John James, Methodist Episcopal, South, D.D. (Emory and Henry College, Emory, Washington Co., Va., 1888), LL.D. (University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1894), Editor of Books and of the *Methodist Review*, Nashville, Tenn.

Titzel, Rev. John Martin, D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., 1852), Pastor of the First Reformed (German) Church, Lancaster, Pa.

True, Rev. Benjamin Osgood, D.D. (Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y., 1888), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Theological Seminary (Baptist), Rochester, N. Y.

Van Dyke Rev. Paul, Pastor of the Edwards Church (Congregational), Northampton, Mass.

Vedder, Rev. Henry Clay, Professor of Church History, Crozer Baptist Theological Seminary. Upland, Delaware Co., Pa.

Vincent, Rev. John Heyl, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, S. T. D. (Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O., 1870), LL.D. (Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., 1885), Topeka, Kansas.

Votaw, Rev. Clyde Weber, Baptist, Docent in Biblical Literature and University Extension Reader in New Testament Literature, University of Chicago, Ill.

Walker, Williston, Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1888), S.T.D. (Adelbert College, of Western Reserve University, Adelbert, O., 1894), Waldo Professor of Germanic and Western Church History, Theological Seminary (Congregational), Hartford, Conn.

Warfield, Rev. Benjamin Breckinridge, D.D., LL.D. (both College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J., 1880 and 1892, respectively), Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), Princeton, N. J.

Weidner, Rev. Revere Franklin, D.D. (Carthage College, Carthage Ill., 1886; Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., 1894), LL.D. (Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., 1894), Professor of Systematic Theology, Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

Wells, Rev. Charles Luke, Episcopalian, Ph.D., (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1893), Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Wells, Rev. Newell Woolsey, Pastor South Third Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Wilson, Hon. Thomas, Washington, D. C.

Wolf, Rev. Edmund Jacob, D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., 1876), Professor of Church History, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Zenos, Rev. Andreas Constantinides, D.D. (College of New Jersey, Princeton, 1888), Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History, McCormick Theological Seminary, (Presbyterian), Chicago, Ill.

Whole number living 177

DECEASED MEMBERS

From the Organization of the Society, March 23, 1888, to December 31, 1894, chronologically arranged.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Reuter, Hermann Ferdinand, Sept. 18, 1889.

Hatch, Edwin, Nov. 10, 1889.

Bersier, Eugene, Nov. 19, 1889.

Lightfoot, Joseph Barber, Dec. 21, 1889.

Hase, Karl August von, Jan. 3, 1890.

Kurtz, Johann Heinrich, April 26, 1890.

Pressensé, Edmond Dehault de, April 8, 1891.

Caspari, Carl Paul, April 11, 1892.

MEMBERS.

Schwab, Gustav, August, 1888.

Moffat, James Clement, June 7, 1890.

Dexter, Henry Martyn, Nov. 13, 1890.

Bennett, Charles Wesley, April 17, 1891.

Huidekoper, Frederic, May 16, 1892.

Mann, William Julius, June 20, 1892.

Shepard, Elliott Fitch, March 24, 1893.

Ross, Abel Hastings, May 13, 1893.

Schaff, Philip, Oct. 20, 1893.

Childs, George William, Feb. 3, 1894.

Jay, John, May 5, 1894.

Fox, Louis Rodman, Dec. 21, 1894.

INDEX.

Blue Laws of Connecticut, 19

Dudley, Governor, 37

Gerrish and La Blond, The case of, 32

Harvard, John, 35

Indians, 39
Intolerance, 14

La Blond and Gerrish, The case of, 32

Martyrs, Book of, 28

Mather, Cotton 35, 36

Newberry, 26
New England, 13, 17; town meeting, 19; witchcraft, 33; "raisings," 43
New England diary of 1787, 12

Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, 12
Puritanism, 17, 29, 32, 33

Religious, austerity, 13; freedom, 14

Salem, 33
Schaff, Dr. Philip, a link between Germany and America, 3; between the various Protestant churches of America, 4; between the several departments of theological science, 4; an historian having not only interest in the past, but in its bearing on the present, 5; bibliographical sense, 6; style and composition, 7; spirit of enterprise, 8
Slavery in Massachusetts, 38
Sewall, Samuel, the Sewall diary, 25; birth, 25; homestead, 26; entered Harvard college, 28; marriage, 29; business, 30; public affairs and judicial career, 31; the case of La Blond and Gerrish, 32; the witchcraft mania, 33; political position, 36; slavery, 38; Indians, 39; household, 40; character, 42; pleasures, 43; religious character, 45; his son Joseph, 47; superstitions, 48; marriages, 49; old age, 51; death, 53; descendants, 54

United States, some elements in the making of the, 12; religion, 12–15; industry, 16; intelligence, 17; laws, 18; Puritan influence in the laws, 19; the Scotch-Irish part, 20; French and Indian War, 21

Virginia, 18, 19, 21

Ward, William G., 5
Witchcraft mania, The, 33